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SOME SOCIAL-ANTHROPOLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS ON GOTONG ROJONG PRACTICES IN TWO VILLAGES OF CENTRAL JAVA

KOENTJARANINGRAT
(translated by Claire Holt)

MONOGRAPH SERIES

MODERN INDONESIA PROJECT

Southeast Asia Program
Department of Far Eastern Studies
Cornell University
Ithaca, New York

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Koentjaraningrat

University of Indonesia, Djakarta

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1961

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PREFACE

One of the most important, and at the same time most abused, terms in the Indonesian language is gotong rojong. Originally its usage was confined to the village sphere of Indonesian society, but during the past decade it has acquired an increasing currency among Indonesian political leaders and economic planners concerned with national problems. More and more frequently it has been employed in the formulation of prescriptions for social and political relationships transcending the village level. In most cases, its usage, whether pertaining to activity at the village or national level, has been vague and certainly varied, few writers (scholars or political leaders) pausing to give it anything approaching a clear definition. Where it has been defined, this has all too often been largely in terms of ideological requirements rather than reflecting the actual practices, such as those that Dr. Koentjaraningrat describes.

This is one of the very few studies of this important process in Indonesian society to be based upon careful field research, an investigation undertaken by Dr. Koentjaraningrat in Central Java in 1958 and 1959. Publication of his monograph reflects the Cornell Modern Indonesia Project's interest in the considerable changes that have taken place at the village level in Indonesia as a consequence of the impact of three and a half years of Japanese occupation, four years of struggle for independence, and the subsequent decade of rapid social, economic, and political movement. We feel that Dr. Koentjaraningrat's study is a significant addition to the all too meager store of data based upon actual field work at the village level in the post-war period.

Finally, I should like to express our deep gratitude to Mrs. Claire Holt for her translation of the manuscript, one which is fully sensitive to the nuances of Dr. Koentjaraningrat's exposition.

Ithaca, New York
December 8, 1961.

George McT. Kahin
Director

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TRANSLATOR'S NOTE

In transposing the Indonesian text into English, the translator has retained a few basic Indonesian terms, for the same reasons as those of the author in citing Javanese terms. So, for example, desa - village, dukuh - hamlet, kerdja bakti - free labor services, are used interchangeably to retain the flavor and to remind the reader of the particular features and the mood which distinguish Javanese villages and hamlets from those elsewhere in Indonesia or in other countries.

All explanatory items added by the translator appear in square brackets--[ ].

As a reminder to those readers who do not know the Indonesian language, but who have undoubtedly had to deal with Indonesian terms in other writings concerning Indonesia, it is reiterated below that the approximate pronunciation of sounds in Indonesian and Javanese words and names is as follows:

a - as in father (e. g. sawah, bakti, tani, Tjelapar);

e - either as the second e in merely (e. g. selamatan, sekolah, Tjelapar);

or as in best (e. g. gèmbel, bètjèran);

or as in base (e. g. desa);

i - as in see when long, or sit when short (e. g. Wadjasari, nasi, but Apit);

o - as in cord or law (e. g gotong rojong);

u - as in noon or foot (e. g gugur gunung, dukuh, petuk);

s is always hard, as in kiss (e. g. waris, Wadjasari);

dj and tj are similar to j in Jack and ch in church respectively;

and, finally, the j in such words and names as rojong, Karanganjar, gujuban, etc. is pronounced as if it were transcribed with a y, i. e. royong, Karanganyar, guyuban, etc. --just as wayang (shadowplay), which is now "internationalized," is spelled wajang in Indonesian.

C. H.

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I

AIM OF THE PAPER

In presenting this paper, it is our aim to report observations on gotong rojong practices made during field work in two village societies in the regency of Kebumen, Central Java. The two villages are the desa Tjelapar, situated in the hills north of Karanganjar, the principal town of the district, and the desa Wadjasari in the plain south of this town.

We chose these two villages for our social-anthropological research because we intended to apply to these two communities the method known as that of "controlled comparison." (1)

Both villages, Tjelapar and Wadjasari, lie in one district and are separated from each other by a distance of no more than thirty kilometers [one kilometer equals 0.621 mile]. Basically, both these communities belong to one and the same ethnic, territorial, and administrative group. However, while Tjelapar is a relatively isolated village, Wadjasari lies fairly close to a main highway. As the consequence of this fundamental difference a chain of other differences ensues.

Besides the results of our research which concerned itself specifically with gotong rojong practices, this report contains also an account of the method used and especially of the difficulties which we have experienced in trying to apply it. Thus other researchers interested in this problem, which we regard as an important one, will have an opportunity to examine critically our application of this method and to advance some suggestions for improving and sharpening it up.

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(1) Concerning this method, see for instance the article by F. Eggan in American Anthropologist. For full titles of articles and books referred to in this monograph, see References, page 66.

II

THE CONCEPT GOTONG ROJONG

The term gotong rojong is used frequently in popular literature, in newspapers, etc., but usually without a clearly defined meaning. The meaning given to this term by the general public is: cooperation between members of a community. Usually this meaning is further elaborated by the addition of some idealistic connotations such as: the cooperation springs from a spontaneous attitude of the participants; the cooperation springs from a desire to serve the common good. Moreover, in the popular literature, the proponents of this concept create the impression that the spontaneity and the desire to serve the common good is a special trait in the national character of the Indonesian rural population.

Apart from ideals--our hope and efforts indeed to build up an Indonesian society based on gotong rojong in the above mentioned idealistic sense--it behooves us Indonesians also to know what are in fact the underlying principles and social aspects of this gotong rojong as seen from a realistic point of view.

In fact, recently, some scholars with deeper insights into the nature of social institutions have not idealized the gotong rojong concept without further questions; they realized the need for a more careful examination, or analysis of its background. So, for example, Bachtiar Rifai, a scholar in the field of agriculture, said in his dissertation: "In many respects the concept 'gotong rojong' is far too perfected in the imagination of those who do not directly participate in it, so that this expression often becomes a technical term for cooperation, without regard for the underlying motivations on the part of the direct participants" (Bachtiar Rifai, Pendapat,* 2). P. A. Postma, too, is said to have paid special attention to the question of gotong rojong during her field work in the villages of Tengger, East Java; while, for another example, Widjojo Nitisastro and J. E. Ismael, two economists who work at the Lembaga Penjelidikan Ekonomi dan Masjarakat Universitas Indonesia [Institute for Economic Social Research of the University of Indonesia], have briefly discussed the several kinds of gotong rojong found in the village Djabres of the Regency Kebumen in Central Java (Widjojo Nitisastro and J. E. Ismael, pp. 6-7, 17).

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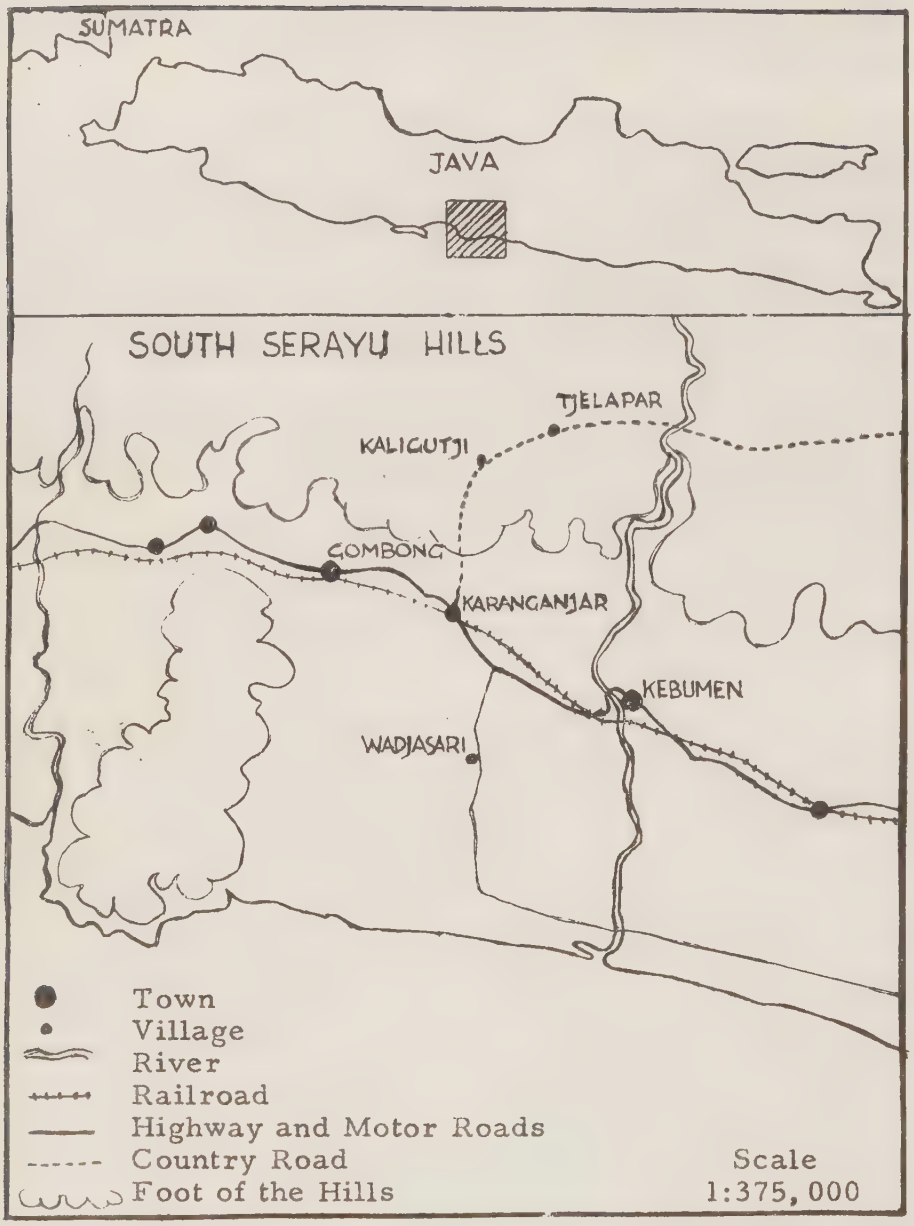
*Pendapat = statement. The Ph. D. candidate in Indonesia has to submit, in addition to his thesis, a series of statements on scholarly problems. Bachtiar Rifai's statement on gotong rojong was one of those which he submitted in addition to his thesis.

This awareness among the several scholars concerning the more complex nature of gotong rojong, has stimulated also our interest in this problem and has caused us to start paying attention during our field work in Tjelapar and Wadjasari (in the vacation months of 1958 and 1959) to those activities of mutual aid, or gotong rojong, in the life of these village communities.

Our work in collecting data on gotong rojong in the two villages should be regarded as the first step in a series of wider inquiries which perhaps we may be able to undertake in the future in some other village communities in different parts of Indonesia. It is our hope, therefore, that whatever knowledge we have obtained concerning the background of gotong rojong may be further enriched with comparative data from other parts of Indonesia, so that we come to know how far gotong rojong is a significant factor in Indonesian society in general.

For an easier understanding of the gotong rojong activities to be described in this report, it is advisable that we first present a brief sketch of the location and of some of the basic aspects of the life in the Tjelapar and Wadjasari village communities.



Map 1. Location of Tjelapar and Wadjasari in South Central Java

III

THE VILLAGE TJELAPAR

Location

Tjelapar is a large village /desa/ which lies in the hilly region of Seraju Selatan (South Seraju), seventeen kilometers to the north of the district town of Karanganjar (Regency Kebumen, Kedu Residency, Central Java). Before World War II, there was a road leading to it from Karanganjar which could be used by automobiles, but its bridges have crumbled and it is badly damaged in several places, so that now it is difficult to pass even on a bicycle. By deleman /a type of pony cart/, which is a vehicle of considerable importance in the vicinity of Karanganjar, and certainly by jeep, one can reach the village Kaligutji. The rest of the way one must either walk or negotiate the road on a bicycle. This transportation problem makes for relative isolation of Tjelapar from the town and from the doings along the main highway which runs along the southern part of Central Java.

The total area of Tjelapar, about two square kilometers, consists of some five hundred sixty hectares of land. About forty hectares are occupied by houses and courtyards. This latter type of land is scattered since the pattern of the village (as seen on sketch-map II) is not one of compact grouping but of a widely scattered design. The housing area shows thirteen clusters of dukuh /hamlets/ with names of their own, i.e.: Gilar, Karangsempu, Karanglo. Tjelapar Proper, Alian, Karangsari, Larangan, Gunungsari, Sudikampir, Sumberan, Kalisadang, Kaliputih, Watupundutan. The rest of the land, some five hundred twenty hectares, is agricultural. It includes three hundred twenty-nine hectares of sawah /irrigated rice fields/, one hundred seventy-one hectares of tegalan /dry fields/ and fifteen hectares of teak forest. (2)

The Inhabitants of Tjelapar

In July 1958, the village counted 1,881 inhabitants. A breakdown according to sex and also into groups of children and "non-

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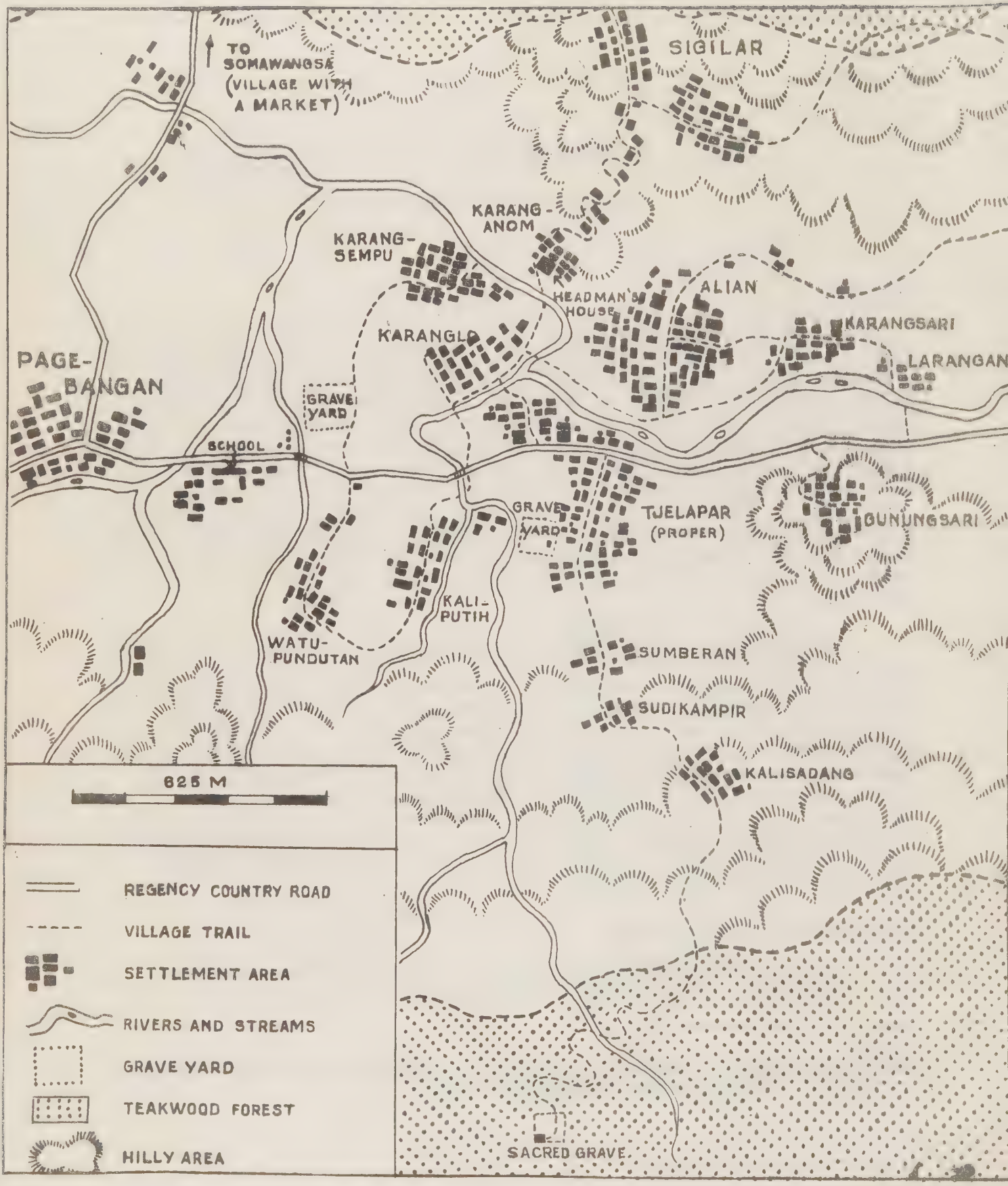
(2) This forest is a part of a large, government-owned teak forest area in the mountain region of Seraju Selatan.



Map II. Location of the Various Hamlets of Tjelapar

children" (3) shows the following numbers:

	children	non-children	total
Male	407	549	956
Female	335	590	925
Total	742	1,139	1,881

The majority of the 1,139 "non-children", who constitute, one may say, the productive force of the village, (4) earn their livelihood by occupations closely linked with agriculture.

In the tegalan /dry fields/ the people of Tjelapar plant mainly singkong /cassava/ which constitutes their basic food (5) as it does for all other inhabitants of the Seraju mountain area. In the sawah the people plant rice

---

(3) With the term "non-children" we designate villagers above the age of fourteen to fifteen years. Usually male as well as female children over fourteen or fifteen years of age begin to participate heavily in the work of adults, whether in agriculture, cattle raising or other activities directed towards gaining a livelihood and in the social activities of the village community. For purposes of our research concerning gotong rojong activities, this age limit is of far greater importance than the eighteen years limit which is the basis for dividing the inhabitants into children and adults in the village register. Besides, the age limit of eighteen years is not strictly ascertainable since village people rarely know their age. They usually are able to fix the time of their birth only if it is associated with some important event or an extraordinary period in the past, which is still remembered and can be used as a guide to time. In our field-work of 1958, the division of the inhabitants on the basis of a fourteen to fifteen years age limit was greatly facilitated because it was fourteen to fifteen years earlier that the end of the Japanese occupation and the beginning of the revolution had taken place. That period is still very clearly remembered by all the people of the village. Thus we were able to complete quickly our list by dividing all children into those born before the outbreak of the revolution and those born after the outbreak of the revolution, i.e. children above and below fourteen to fifteen years of age respectively.

(4) The number of 1,139 can be reduced by twenty-two people of both sexes who are very old, so that the productive population of Tjelapar should be counted as consisting of 1,127 people.

(5) Out of singkong a dish /gruel/ is made which in the villages of the Karanganjar area is called sega ojek.

exclusively, but rice is not the basic food. Rice is a food of honor, offered to visitors who come from afar, to guests at celebrations, or to neighbors who come to help in a gotong rojong function. In those courtyards which are sufficiently large (many of Tjelapar's courtyards are too small for planting anything), people plant a great variety, dozens of kinds of plants, such as different types of ubi /yams/, tales /or talas - ramenas, Kladi, Colocasia esculenta/, vegetables, fruit trees, and coconut palms. Besides these, we were able to note more than thirty other varieties of plants all utilized for the villagers' livelihood.

Around the year 1881 Tjelapar's inhabitants consisted of three hundred sixty-nine nuclear families who lived in three hundred forty-nine households (somah). One family usually consisted of the head of the family with his wife and children. Often two or three nuclear families lived in one house. As all of them shared one kitchen, we designate a group of two to three families as one household. On the other hand, there were also from two to three nuclear families which, though sharing the same house, each conducted their own household economy (and this implied the existence of two or three separate kitchens in the house); then we got one house which nevertheless constituted two or three households.

The houses occupied by one, or from two to three nuclear families, or by two to three households, usually were built very close one to another. Especially in such hamlets as Karangsempu, Tjelapar, Alian and Karanganom, there were practically no courtyards for planting because of the close location of the houses.

The composition of a household and this pattern of housing, seems to be the direct result of the residence patterns for newlyweds as practised in Tjelapar in particular, but possibly also in other villages of Central Java in general. Many villagers get married young, i. e. between thirteen and eighteen years of age for girls and between fifteen and twenty for boys. This is the reason why the newly married pair is usually regarded as incapable of managing their own living. Thus the new couple usually stays on at first in the house of parents. (6) Later, as they become older and

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(6) When we questioned the various informants in the village in which of the parental houses the newly wed couple usually stays--with the parents of the wife or those of the husband--they all replied that undoubtedly the couple would stay with the parents of the bride. According to the informants, this is quite logical as the bride certainly would prefer to live with her own mother and the mother certainly would prefer to be helped in the household by her own daughter rather than by the wife of her son who is a stranger to her. We checked this information concerning the custom of initial uxorilocal residence of newlyweds by counting in how many of the four hundred fifty-seven marriages in Tjelapar of people still alive the couples in reality have lived following the uxorilocal and how many according to the virilocal custom. It

are able to manage their own affairs and if their sawah area becomes larger, they start to live by themselves. At that time the parents build a house for them often on the grounds of their own compound. Moreover, the parent often builds the house for his children in such a way that it directly adjoins his own; thus, seen from the outside the two houses appear as one large house. Only sometimes is a house for the young couple erected in another compound, far from the parental house. Thus the residence patterns described above, together with the habit of building a house for one's children or children-in-law on the parental compound, result in a dense settlement pattern in several hamlets of Tjelapar, especially in those of Karanglo, Karangsempu, Alian, etc., and in the formation of kingroups almost with the characteristics of bilocal extended families.

Kinship Ties

Outside the nuclear family and the kinship groups whose character approaches that of a bilocal extended family, there are in Tjelapar practically no other kinship groupings with an important function in the social life of the village.

It seems that indeed kinship bonds are not important in rural societies in south Central Java. This appeared also in the degree of knowledge of the people of Tjelapar concerning their kin when we interviewed them using the genealogical method. The people of Tjelapar usually knew only the kinship relations of their own generation up to cousins twice removed (misanan); also they still knew the kinship relationships with the generation of their parents, but usually incompletely; thereafter only very few among them knew something about the kin of their grandparents' generation. The lack of interest and knowledge of the Tjelapar villagers, as well as those of Wadjasari, made it very difficult for a fieldworker to apply the genealogical method (7) in interviewing people from rural communities in Central Java.

Yet, in Tjelapar, as well as in other mountain villages north of Karanganjar, there exists, next to the nuclear family and the bilocal extended family, still another kinship grouping with a distinct function in the social life of the village. This kinship group, called alur waris,

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(6) (cont'd)
appeared that quite a few couples had not followed the custom as propounded by all the informants and have resided after marriage in the initial virilocal manner.

	married outside Tjelapar	married in Tjelapar
initial uxorilocal	59	322
initial virilocal	29	47
total	88	369

(7) On this interview method see Notes and Queries on Anthropology, pp. 50-55, 75-84.

consists of all descendants, either matrilineal or patrilineal, of an ancestor whose grave is still intact in one of the village cemeteries. The core of an alur waris are the descendants who live in the village where the ancestral grave is situated, though people of other villages or places who happen to be still recognized as alur waris and who can easily be contacted may be included as members of the alur waris too.

The function of alur waris is not connected with inheritance /warisan/. Its function is to guard and maintain the ancestral graves, to pay the costs involved, and to institute all ceremonies and festivities which are connected with the proper care of such a grave. Thanks to the activity of all their alur waris groups, the villages in the mountain area north of Karaganjar have clean and well maintained cemeteries, with ancestral dwellings which are sometimes better taken care of than the dwellings of the living.

Hamlet Bonds

The dukuh, or hamlet, represents a social unit which is very important in the community life of the desa Tjelapar, since many social activities are conducted within the hamlet context. The inhabitants of a hamlet do not feel related by kinship ties. It is possible that in the past the nuclear families who had first settled in the hamlet were kin; however at present, since the principle of bilateral descent is not conducive to the cultivation of kinship bonds, the descendants of the original settler-families may have forgotten the kinship ties between them. (8) Today, the people of one hamlet, with the exception of the members of bilocal extended families, regard each other as no more than neighbors.

Apart from their separation in social activities and in several kinds of productive and cooperative activities which are conducted within each of the widely scattered hamlets, there are also differences from hamlet to hamlet--and thus within the internal social boundaries of the desa Tjelapar--in conceptions, attitudes, and outlooks on life. So, for example, the difference in the outlooks of the santri and the abangan (9) result in two distinct groups of villagers who each live in certain hamlets. In the hamlets which are centers for the Santri, i. e. dukuh Sumberan and

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(8) The bonds of a common living place (in this case a hamlet) which, according to the anthropologist J. Pouwer, are often supposed to stimulate the sense of kinship ties in societies where descent is counted in an ambilineal manner (J. Pouwer, pp. 114-118), have not proven to be conducive to the cultivation of kinship bonds in Tjelapar.

(9) Santri is a designation of those Javanese who adhere as closely as possible to the tenets of the Islamic religion. Abangan are those Javanese who do not follow the Islamic religious prescriptions seriously.

Kalisadang, there is a mosque and a pesantren /Islamic religious school for men/ in the southern part of the hamlet, as well as a teacher for the reading of the Qur'an. Another instance of differentiation in the formation of views which is rooted in the distinct character of each dukuh appeared in the results of the 1955 elections for D. P. R. /Dewan Perwakilan Rakjat = Parliament/ and the Constitutional Assembly. At that time, particular hamlets provided the totals of votes received by each party. (10) Significantly for the community of Tjelapar, there was unity in each hamlet.

As regards group activities based on kinship ties, they naturally exist too. They occur especially in connection with arrangements for a wedding, the celebration of a wedding ceremony, the implementation of festivities of a familial nature, or the accomplishment of works connected with death and the care for ancestral graves. Kinship relationships (except, of course, immediate family bonds) are not very important however in group activities concerned with work for gaining a livelihood or in production.

As for group activities which are not based on communal hamlet bonds but which are supported by associations outside the hamlet, these were never long-lived in the desa Tjelapar. Organizations for the promotion of welfare among the inhabitants, savings and loan associations which had been established in previous years either on private initiative or on the initiative of village officials, never came to prosper. The only exception was a cooperative for the renting of accessories needed for feasts (such as plates, spoons, glasses, etc.). (11) While it is true that the membership of this cooperative consisted of individuals who belonged to different hamlets, this association nevertheless managed to develop. As regards other organizations of a more formal character, as the O. P. R. /Organisasi Pemuda Rakjat, i. e. People's Youth Organization/, they are of course not connected with the dukuh system.

Land Owners in Tjelapar

Of Tjelapar's 1, 139 inhabitants in the "non-children" category, two hundred fifty-nine persons were listed as holders of a petuk, i. e. as holders of a government certificate stating the dimensions of the land

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(10) By 1958 the remainders of influences exercised by the branch-organizations of the political parties had practically vanished from the desa Tjelapar.

(11) The renting out of gas lamps for feasts does not enter the cooperative's business since this is an individual enterprise of a peasant, Djawintana by name.

property for purposes of tax assessment. (12) In reality, the number of land owners is much larger because the petuk of persons holding them covers a number of other landowners, usually the holders' younger siblings. In fact it is customary among the people of Tjelapar, as among those of the other mountain villages of the Kebumen Regency, that heirs to siti jasan, inherited land, do not at once apply individually for petuk certificates each for their respective share, but that only one of them, usually the eldest, does so; by adding the land-shares of his relations to his own, the eldest sibling becomes the holder of a petuk certificate which covers the whole inherited land complex. Later, when a pondok (13)--one of the co-owners of land covered by such a petuk which is held by an elder member of his family--has bettered his position in the village community and has increased his land holdings through purchase or other means, then this pondok separates his land property from the property complex of his relations and applies for a petuk certificate of his own.

Thus, the habitual procedure of the Tjelapar people of joining several plots of land owned by several individuals into one complex covered by one petuk held by a single person, (14) conceals the fact that the number of actual landowners is far greater than two hundred fifty-nine, which is the number of petuk holders mentioned above. (15) It is regrettable that during our field work we did not have time to count all the inhabitants who actually owned land, but it is our impression that their number is about three times that of these two hundred fifty-nine petuk holders.

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(12) The villagers regard the petuk certificate as a document which proves their property rights. According to the village land-register, there are one hundred forty-eight persons who hold petuk. As we did not trust the registers of the Tjelapar village, we checked for ourselves on the total of such holders and thus arrived at the number of two hundred fifty-nine mentioned above.

(13) In the Tjelapar region the term pondok does not designate, as elsewhere in Java, a person who does not own either land or a house and who lives in a house owned by someone else.

(14) The system of a joint petuk may have originated at the time when the kuli system was still in full swing. The situation of the kuli /landowners; cf. pp. 36-37 below/ in the mountain regions of south Seraju was very hard so that people were not prepared to inherit this position until the time when their rights and powers were sufficient to meet these hardships. The rights and powers included that of holding a petuk on lands owned by such relatives as did not wish to become kuli and thus to administer these lands.

(15) The holders of petuk covering 1.50 hectares had two, three, or even up to five pondok, whereas some holders of petuk for 2.50 hectares had as many as ten pondok. In Tjelapar there were only twenty-two persons who held petuk certificates for land exceeding 2.50 hectares.

Among the people who do not own either sawah or tegalan land, there are quite a number who cultivate land following the share-cropping system (maro, mertelu, etc.) (16) or by renting land. (17) The remainder are people who, because they truly do not own any land at all, are forced to work as agricultural laborers and receive wages either in kind (crop) or in money. In relation to the total number of Tjelapar's "non-children" inhabitants, the number of landless agricultural laborers is not very great.

Sources of Income of the Tjelapar Population

Although many of Tjelapar's inhabitants either own some land, or can work as share-croppers, or rent land, the yields are usually insufficient to provide a living for them. (18) The land holdings are usually very small, (19) much of the land is dry fields, tegalan, (20) whereas much of the sawah land does not produce good crops because of deficient irrigation. Thus, many people have to seek additional income in a variety of ways. One of the ways is to hire out one's labor for agricultural work.

The agricultural laborers of Tjelapar, composed of those who seek additional income while being landowners themselves and such who are landless, work not only in Tjelapar itself but also in other villages. Many of them even seek employment in villages in the plains south of Karanganjar, and among these in the desa Wadjasari. The tendency of agricultural workers to seek work outside Tjelapar is caused, perhaps, by the lack of esteem attached to hiring out one's labor for agricultural work in his own community. People are often averse to engaging in some demeaning work in their own community, but can overcome their reluctance by going to another community.

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(16) Some other scholars use the term sakap-menjakap for this system of share-cropping (Bachtiar Rifai, pp. 9, 61-63, 106-107).

(17) In Tjelapar share-cropping occurs much more frequently than the renting of land.

(18) The question of what constitutes a decent standard of living for villagers of Central Java at this time, requires a special research project.

(19) The majority of petuk holders in Tjelapar own less than 1.5 hectares of land; only forty-four persons own tegalan land, and only seven persons own sawah land of more than 1.5 hectares.

(20) There is one villager in Tjelapar, Setjadiwira by name, who became relatively rich (compared with his co-villagers) as the result of having planted kentjur in his tegalan. The root of kentjur, widely used in Java for medicinal herbs, was sold to middle-men in the town Karanganjar.

Besides agricultural labor, there are other modes of supplementary work in which people engage. There are several kinds of trades which can serve the needs of the village. Twelve carpenters can be employed by the villagers to build frames of houses, furniture, etc.; one blacksmith may be asked to make or repair a hoe or some other iron implement; (21) many women as well as men plait mats, hats, and other plaited objects made of the fibre of the pudak plant, either for their own use or for sale on the market; seven women who own sewing machines may be asked to help make children's clothing for school; many women own looms, but because yarns are difficult to procure, woven textiles are seldom produced; several women are skillful at batik work, but again because white muslins are scarce and difficult to obtain, none of them makes batiks; several men and women who knew how to make clay pots had left Tjelapar to become workers in factories near the town of Kebumen. Several village officials who could afford it, have sent their sons to attend the S. M. P. /Sekolah Menengah Pertama = First Middle School, roughly Junior High School/ and the S. G. B. /Sekolah Guru Bawah = Lower Teacher's School/ at Karanganjar; and, beginning with 1958, an increasing number of young people, graduates of the Sekola Rakjat /People's School, i. e. elementary school/ or of the middle school, have obtained work in Djakarta, (22) either as servants or as low officials in some governmental offices.

Daily Activities of the People in Tjelapar

The people of Tjelapar awake at sunrise and after having bathed in the river or at the well they start on their daily round of activities. It proved very difficult to compile a list of their fixed daily activities because they do not have definite work laid out for certain days of each week, while the number of hours they work varies from day to day. It is therefore impossible to figure out a villager's work on the basis of the number of work days or work hours, but only in terms of tasks accomplished. The work sheets of five male and female villagers, whose daily activities we followed for eight days, a period including two market-days and two Sundays (attached as Appendix III) reflect the non-fixed pattern of their daily work habits.

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(21) This land-cultivator and blacksmith has also made a simple iron gamelan /ensemble of Javanese percussion instruments/ which he rents out to people who organize a feast. He also owns a collection of pressure gas lamps, which he similarly rents for feasts; and, as technical expert of the village, he can receive a variety of repair work, starting with bicycles, sewing machines, gas lamps, and up to small mechanisms, such as wrist watches, etc.

(22) The connection between the young people of Tjelapar and Djakarta was furthered by sons of the village head who were army officers stationed in Djakarta.

The varying patterns of the villagers' daily work are nevertheless determined by a number of factors. Within the limits of each day, the scorching heat of the sun around noon forces people to stop working in order to take a rest or to go home to eat or to sleep. Within each period of every five days, the market held at the village Somawangsa (about one hour's walking distance from Tjelapar, up and down hills) also determines the recurrence of certain fixed activities which strongly affect the rhythm of work. Finally, within each annual cycle, the change of monsoon seasons determines the nature and rhythm of agricultural activities.

Even though there is no established rhythm in the varied activities undertaken by the villagers, yet, in broad outline one may say that during each day they are generally away from the house from 6 or 7 a. m. until about noon. Work often stops when the sun blazes at its hottest. Besides work in the sawah or tegalan, there is always much work around the house. For example, household utensils and other implements need repairs; there is some sewing of clothes to be done; sometimes weaving or plaiting of mats, etc. Also if there is a baby or small children, there have to be people to take care of them: elder siblings who are still young themselves, a grandmother, and sometimes either the mother or the father themselves, or older siblings who have skipped school. Yet, though one may occasionally hear shouts or laughter of groups of small children having fun at play, one gets the impression that the village on the whole is empty and quiet between the early morning hours and noon. If early in the morning someone at home has managed to cook sega ojek (gruel made of singkong, cassava) with some ready simple side-dishes, those who return from work at noon can eat until hunger is satisfied. If food has not been prepared, which often happens, they have to do the cooking first. At that time the children have returned from the school, which is situated in the desa Pagebangan, about half an hour's walk from the house, and they begin to attack the rest of the sega ojek on the kitchen table.

After the midday meal, the adults usually return to the work they were doing during the morning; they may also go to do some other work, or sometimes remain around the house to finish up some tasks. The children go to herd the animals (angon) or join the adults to help in their work.

If we stroll in the village towards sundown, about 6 p. m. , when the people have returned from their individual tasks, we will find them seated in their courtyards, chatting and gossiping with animation while waiting for the sun to set. Sometimes we may encounter groups of children with water buffaloes or cows returning from their pasture.

After the evening meal the men will go either to the guard house of the night watch or to a coffee shop--essentially to places where they can meet other people--to sit and talk about the daily events in the village. If a person is a member of some village art club, as the group of

angguk players, the group of players and singers of selawatan kompang, selawatan djandjanèng, or selawatan djawi, (23) he may go to meet his fellow players at the house of a friend for exercises in his art. If someone likes to play tjeki /Chinese card game/ or dominoes (card playing is quite popular among the villagers), he may go to the house of his steady partners (friends) to play cards until late into the night.

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(23) Angguk is a Javanese play based on Islamic stories performed by boys or young men who dance and sing to the accompaniment of drums and tambourines. Their chants, of Arabic origin, are called selawatan, of which there are many varieties, such as selawatan kompang, selawatan djandjanèng, etc. For information on Javanese folk-art, see Th. Pigeand.

IV

THE VILLAGE WADJASARI

Location

Wadjasari is a small village in the plain between the south Seraju hills and the south coast of Java at the Indian Ocean. It is situated along a provincial D. P. U (Djawatan Pekerdjaan Umum) road which branches off southwards from the main West-East highway that traverses the southern part of central Java. The distance to the town of Karanganjar is fourteen kilometers. Since the road to Wadjasari is in a good enough condition for all types of vehicles, Wadjasari is not an isolated village, as is Tjelapar.

The area of the village extends over approximately one hundred fifty-three hectares of land which consist of about one hundred twenty-four hectares of sawah land and about twenty-seven hectares of house-and-garden land. A total of two hundred thirty-nine houses line both sides of the road, three or four deep. Among these houses, especially in the front rows along the roadsides, there are many which are built of stone and in which the indigenous Javanese house styles (limasan, trodjogan, srotogan, etc.) have been discarded in favor of a style found in the towns. There is no visible boundary separating these rows of houses from the rows of the adjacent village, Pagotan, nor between the latter and its neighbor village, Tepakjang. Such a pattern of closely adjacent village complexes, where it is impossible to discern from the outside any boundaries between them, is frequently encountered in the plains of south central Java. The Regency of Kebumen especially was one of the densest populated areas in Java already before the war. The district Karanganjar now counts more than eight hundred souls per square kilometer, whereas in the district Pedjagoan for example the density of the population exceeds one thousand per square kilometer. (24)

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(24) The area around the village Djabres, near the town of Kebumen, counts, according to new data, 1,022 souls per square kilometer (Some Data on the Population of Djabres, p. 4).

Besides the group of two hundred thirty-nine houses mentioned above, twenty-two other houses which lie in courtyards north of the village also belong to Wadjasari. These complexes form a hamlet which is called dukuh Sari and which is part of the desa Wadjasari (see map III).

The Population of Wadjasari

In the month of August 1958 our village had 1,046 inhabitants, of whom ninety-five lived in the dukuh Sari. More specifically, as appears on the table below, they consisted of four hundred ninety-eight children and five hundred forty-eight persons who belong to the "non-children" category: (25)

	children	non-children	total
Male	266	236	502
Female	232	312	544
Total	498	548	1,046

In contrast with Tjelapar, there are not many nuclear families who join with another, or others, to form one household in one house. In the whole village, including dukuh Sari, there are only twenty-one houses inhabited by more than one nuclear family. In these houses there were currently young couples who still lived with their parents. (26) All the other two hundred forty-two houses were each occupied by only one family.

While examining the conditions of households in Wadjasari, we learned that more than one half of the children marry outside the village (lintang desa) and leave their desa to settle with their wife or husband elsewhere. (27) It appeared besides that in many somah /joint house-

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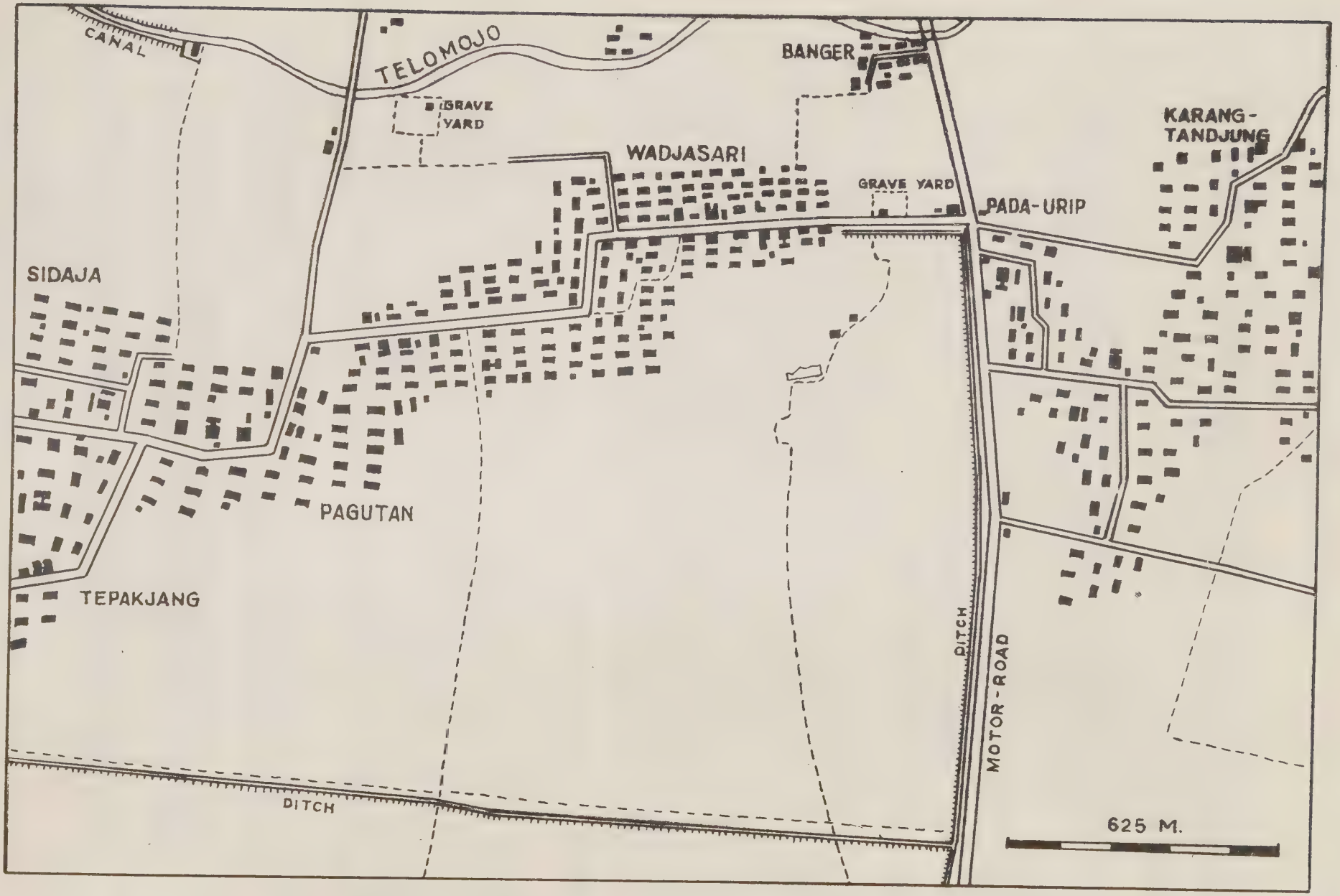
(25) Regarding the "non-children" classification see note 3 on page 7.

(26) In the above mentioned twenty-one houses lived twenty-seven young families, eighteen uxorilocally and 9 virilocally. According to all informants this arrangement of living with the parents is transitional. Thus the custom for newlyweds of residing with parents is the same in Wadjasari as in Tjelapar.

(27) To obtain a concrete picture of Wadjasari's post-marriage residence patterns, we counted how many of the ninety-two newly-wed couples in the village had settled initially in the uxorilocal and how many in the virilocal manner. The result was:

	married in Wadjasari	married outside Wadjasari (residing in Wadjasari)
uxorilocal	26	39
virilocal	17	10
total	43	49



Map III. Wadjasari and Neighboring Villages

holds/ the children, boys and girls, have gone away to look for labor opportunities or to become servants in towns.

Kinship Ties

There are no other kinship groups in Wadjasari than the nuclear family and the bilocal extended family. There are no kinship groups like the alur waris of the mountain villages north of Karanganjar for the care of ancestral graves either in Wadjasari nor, apparently, in any of the other village communities in the plains south of Karanganjar. (28) This situation was clearly reflected in the state of the cemeteries of Wadjasari and of all the other villages in the plain--the graves looked dilapidated, damaged, and neglected.

Neighborhood Association Bonds

In Wadjasari, with the exception of dukuh Sari, which formerly was a separate village, there are no component parts in the form of hamlets. The original Wadjasari village itself, with its densely grouped housing pattern, looks like a large separate dukuh which in a special way is divided into four sectors designated as rukun tangga /neighborhood association/. There are two of these to the north of the road and two south of it. It seems that this division into sectors was deliberately instituted by leaders of the village, but long before the Japanese occupation, (29) so that the people of Wadjasari now regard all social activities in each of the sectors, which are based on neighborhood bonds, as a traditional institution (adat).

Land Ownership in Wadjasari

Although the majority of the five hundred forty-eight "non-children" inhabitants of Wadjasari earn their living by means of agricultural activities in their village, yet many among them do not own any land. According to the village register of 1958, (30) only three hundred forty-four persons own a plot of land. In contrast with Tjelapar, there proved to be no system of one person holding a petuk certificate for a complex of land property on behalf of a group of relations. Each individual who obtained a plot of ground, either through inheritance, through purchase, or as a gift, either procured for himself as soon as

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(28) We have visited or passed through a part of these villages during the period of our field research.

(29) The establishment of rukun tetangga (or -tangga), neighborhood associations, was strongly sponsored by the Japanese military occupation throughout Indonesia for purposes of internal controls.

(30) The village registers of Wadjasari, especially the land registers, are far more accurate than the registers of Tjelapar.

possible a petuk for this piece of land or, if he already had a petuk, saw to it that the newly acquired plot was added in his petuk. Also there are some children who, though minors, have received land from their parents, and for them too a petuk is speedily procured. In 1958 there were fourteen children listed as land owners. Thus the number of "non-children" who own land in Wadjasari is three hundred forty-four minus fourteen--a total of three hundred thirty persons. And the total of landless persons is five hundred forty-eight minus three hundred thirty, i. e. two hundred eighteen.

Some of the two hundred eighteen landless villagers can still cultivate a plot of land, either by renting it from, or following the share-cropping system (maro, etc.) (31) with owners of extensive sawah lands. Although there are people who own more than one hectare of land, there are no more than seventeen such persons in all of Wadjasari, (32) and their land holdings are broken up into small parcels which are rented to landless villagers. (33) Besides these, there are further a number of owners of small fields who rent them to others because some other occupation which they pursue is more profitable than cultivating a small sawah. Nevertheless, there is still a considerable number of the landless who do not manage to get land either by renting it or by share-cropping. These are the people who are forced to wander out, to seek work other than in agriculture, or to become agricultural laborers (landless laborers). Wadjasari has no shortage of labor in the periods of intensified agricultural activity, since at these times scores of people from the villages around it, and even from the mountain villages, (34) come to get work in Wadjasari. Thus there are times in the village when the offer of agricultural labor is very great.

Sources of Income of the Wadjasari Inhabitants

Agricultural laborers, as well as people who work their own rice fields, have a double occupation, to supplement their incomes. Some persons get additional work in some needed skills, such as carpentry,

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(31) In Wadjasari renting of land occurs more frequently than share-cropping.

(32) The majority of these seventeen owners of "extensive" sawah land are village officials who hold some siti bengkok /land allotted to village officials for cultivation as part of their remuneration/.

(33) The village secretary, Mangkuwasita, for instance, holds 2.194 hectares of siti bengkok; he has subdivided them into fifteen small parcels which are being rented.

(34) For example, from Tjelapar.

sewing (men as well as women), batik making (women), weaving (women), or the making of mats. (35) Others look for supplementary income by opening a warung /coffee shop which retails also some groceries, cigarettes, etc./, by baking cakes, or by becoming bicycle repairmen, barbers, or offering lamps for rent. There are people who organize some village art troupes which can be engaged to perform at feasts; several persons have become truckers or deleman /pony cart/ drivers in the town of Karanganjar; there are two persons who, as well as being tani /land cultivators/ are also government-employed laborers: one as a permanent laborer for the Irrigation Bureau, and one as an attendant of the People's School in the desa Pagotan. A number of persons, men as well as women, trade in Karanganjar's market, selling produce or their home-craft products.

It has been mentioned earlier that many people of Wadjasari leave their village to seek work in towns. It is noteworthy that besides those who go to towns in the vicinity of Karanganjar there are also those who go to far away places. Among the thirty-nine persons, young and old, who left Wadjasari for distant destinations during the months of our field work there, thirty-six persons went to Palembang and three to Bandung. (36)

Daily Habits of Wadjasari's People

In essence, daily life does not differ greatly from that in the mountain villages such as Tjelapar. Only the stronger connection with the life of the town, Karanganjar, gives the daily rhythm a more definitive character. Many persons in Wadjasari own a bicycle, (37) so that they can reach the town in one hour. Many people go to Karanganjar by bicycle, especially in the late afternoon or after sunset, to seek recreation in the urban doings. The work sheets for five inhabitants kept during eight days (Appendix IV), gives us a picture of the Wadjasari people's daily occupations.

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(35) There are no potters or blacksmiths in Wadjasari.

(36) The inhabitants of Wadjasari have no idea about Palembang (Sumatra), whereto migrants from their village have gone. We have interviewed some of these migrants who had returned to Wadjasari. It appeared that the majority had gone to Lahat and Prabumulih (South Sumatra) and worked there as rubber tappers, or they had gone to Talangbeturu and Sungaigerong (South Sumatra) to work in Chinese enterprises. The three persons who went to Bandung worked as servants.

(37) Among the five hundred forty-eight "non-children", three hundred ninety-seven owned a bicycle.

Differences Between the Wadjasari and Tjelapar Communities

In the description of these two communities, we have paid attention only to those aspects which are related to the problem we were studying. Attention to these aspects alone has already brought out several important differences between the two villages, which essentially belong to the same district and are separated only by a distance of some thirty kilometers. The differences which we can abstract from the description above can be summarized as follows:

a) Desa Wadjasari is located about fourteen kilometers from the town of Karanganjar and is connected with it by a good road; desa Tjelapar lies seventeen kilometers from Karanganjar, but the road to it is badly damaged and the village is therefore relatively isolated.

b) In Wadjasari individual ownership of land is more personal because each land owner holds his own petuk; in Tjelapar individual land ownership is a less personal affair, since usually the owner's interests are joined with those of others in one petuk held by an elder member of his family.

c) In Wadjasari there are many landless agricultural laborers; in Tjelapar there are few landless agricultural laborers, and those who engage in agricultural labor still own some land of their own and thus enjoy a better social status.

d) In Wadjasari much agricultural labor is proffered; in Tjelapar agricultural labor is in short supply because persons who seek supplementary income by engaging in labor leave the village to avoid humiliation.

e) In Wadjasari social activities are conducted on the basis of neighborhood associations whose boundaries are not too rigid; in Tjelapar social activities are based on the unity of a dukuh whose boundaries are strongly defined and where the sense of unity is great.

f) There is no kinship group of alur waris in Wadjasari; such a kinship group exists in Tjelapar and its function is to care for ancestral graves.

V

METHOD OF NOTING DATA ON GOTONG ROJONG ACTIVITIES

Our field work, conducted in 1958 for three months in Tjelapar and one month in Wadjasari and with an additional six weeks in 1959, was started with the collection of information which every researcher must get after arrival at the place of his study and which therefore has been termed by an anthropologist as "routine inquiries" (D. L. Oliver, p. 4). The routine inquiries consisted of such efforts as the making of sketch-maps of the village and its environs; copying, studying and critically analysing the village registers; organizing random sampling of some ten per cent of the population and interviewing each individual of the "sample" following the "genealogical method"; and developing firm relationships with a few villagers who were to become our key informants.

During the period of these explorations, our research work, after about four or five weeks, attained a stage when the formal and somewhat awkward relationships between the researcher and the subjects of his study gradually began to vanish. We began to feel that we were accepted, that we could participate in the life of the village community, could join in joking with the villagers, participate in their gossip; we began to sense the areas of strain in the relationships between individuals, and we began to hear about the difficulties of the village's community life, whether of a general or a personal nature. It was at that time that the life of the village community appeared to us in concrete form, and it was also at that time that our attention was drawn to activities of the gotong rojong type. We obtained our materials on gotong rojong activities mainly through observation and through interviews.

During our stay in the two villages we took as many notes as possible on group activities which we encountered daily as we walked about in the village. With regard to each such activity we noted the elements enumerated below:

a) the kind of work and its location;
b) number, sex, names, and residences of the participants;
c) the name and residence of the person upon whose initiative the work under consideration was undertaken;
d) the relation of the working persons to the initiator;

e) the correct indigenous local terms for the various cooperative activities which were being carried out;
f) the attitude and actions of the various participants who worked in this cooperative undertaking;
g) the pay or restitution expected by the participants for the labor they contributed.

With regard to information listed under a), b), and c), there were no difficulties whatsoever in obtaining it. The clarification of point d) presented no difficulties either, but it demanded considerable time. Every time we addressed a question to one of the participants concerning his or her relationship with the initiator of the undertaking, the initial answer was invariably sederek /"a relative"/. As we were already acquainted with the Javanese kinship terms, it was not difficult to pursue the matter further--what sort of relative was he or she of the initiator. Was he a kakang /elder brother or sister/, was he an adik /younger brother or sister/, was he a naksanak /cousin/, a tangga /neighbor/, etc. In the end, after four or five questions, we usually received an answer which could be regarded as satisfactory. In this manner every member of the working group was questioned, one by one, which, in total, took a lot of time.

Information concerning point e) above usually could be noted quickly since we could ask our informant, who always accompanied us, about it. Yet, upon analysis of the information, it appeared that our informants were not precise in their use of terms related to gotong rojong either.

Information concerning point f) was obtained mainly through observation. We were interested especially in the attitudes of the participants towards the work, and in this we distinguished two aspects: a) the energy applied to the work, and b) the attention given to the task. The energy applied to the work could be easily observed: when some people sat smoking as we passed by around 8:30 a.m., the work having started only half an hour earlier, it was a clear indication of unwillingness to work. The idea of townspeople that Javanese villagers while working together amuse themselves by singing is rather romantic and in reality contains no truth whatsoever. Only at such tasks as pounding rice, for example, several women may develop certain complex pounding rhythms, or when children herd animals they engage in play and fun; but apart from this, the villagers in the vicinity of Karanganjar work silently.

As for point g), we often had to obtain this information through an informant, but even then we frequently engaged in interviews, which in the main ran as follows: "Brother, did you bring along some food and drink?" If the answer was negative, the questioning could continue with: "Come noon, where will you eat?" If the answer was "At home" or "Food will be sent from home," it indicated that the people at work were not being treated with a meal. Often, however, the answer was

"Food will be sent by A." (38) Information as to whether the work participants are paid by the initiator of the project could only be procured through a meeting with the initiator himself.

In this manner, together with our assistants we were able to collect data on a number of cases of cooperative work in the community of Tjelapar and later also in Wadjasari. From these materials we excluded everything related to group activities in agricultural and other labor, for which wages were received either in the form of money or in a traditional form of remuneration according to adat. (39) Neither did we include in this report data concerning agricultural activities which are often closely related to gotong rojong, that is in share-cropping, since this aspect has been amply discussed by other scholars. (40) Thus, the materials on those mutual assistance practices to which from now on we shall apply the term gotong rojong have given us the impression that:

a) there are several types of gotong rojong which are based on differing principles and which apparently are also distinguished by the villagers themselves, who use special terms to designate them;

b) the attitudes of the participants also vary from type to type; there are gotong rojong activities which are carried out spontaneously and voluntarily, whereas in others the participants keep sharp count of every service they have performed;

c) the frequency of gotong rojong activities lessens in communities where there is a large supply of landless agricultural laborers and in social conditions where influences of urban life are stronger.

Further, we tried to obtain information on public reactions (the sanction system) (41) toward persons who refuse to participate in some gotong rojong activities. We could not think of any other way of collecting

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(38) A direct question, "Will you be given food by A?", always elicited a negative reply.

(39) As, for example, compensation for cutting rice based on the bawon derep /share-cropping/ system, e. g. a system in which the workers receive wages in the form of a part of the crop.

(40) For example, by A. M. P. A. Scheltema (1931).

(41) According to C. Winick, Dictionary of Anthropology (p. 469), the concept sanction is explained as "a society's reaction to behaviour, either approval (positive sanction) or disapproval (negative sanction)".

data on the sanction system than by discussing separately each of the cases we had gathered with the informants and asking direct questions about the problems in which we were interested.

After we had formed some impressions concerning several kinds of gotong rojong activities which habitually occur in the village, we started for a period of seven days to assemble and make detailed notes on all gotong rojong cases which occured in each of the two villages in the course of a full day. These particular observations were conducted in Tjelapar from the 1st to the 7th of September, 1958, and in Wadjasari from August 25th to 31st, 1959. We chose these time intervals because they fall into the Javanese month Sura and this is one of those months in the Javanese year when village communities are not hard-pressed because of celebrations. Usually villagers select the months of Sela Apit, Besar, or Sapar for celebrating such events as weddings (perkawinan), circumcizing (sunatan and kitanan), the hair-cutting ceremonies (metet), the piercing of ear lobes (tindik), etc. At that time most of the tani have already passed the busy period (mangsa kanem) (42) of ploughing, repairing dikes, hoeing, harrowing, and planting rice seedlings, which lasts about one and a half months.

For the making of detailed observations, the five of us--myself and four assistants (43)--separated each day of the seven day period to walk around singly in one part of the village (from morning until noon and then again from the afternoon until evening) to observe and take notes on every group activity which we encountered, with reference to the aspects described on pages 24-25 above. In the desa Tjelapar, which is widely scattered on mountain slopes, we had five observers. One person took the distant and widely separated southern hamlets, namely Kaliputih and Watupundutan; one other person took two other hamlets to the south which are still further and also widely separated, namely Sumberan and Kalisadang; one person took hamlets near our headquarters (44) but which are very crowded, namely Karangsempu, Tjelapar Proper, and Alian; one person took the small hamlets situated far to the east, namely Karanganom, Larangan, and Gunungsari; while one person was assigned to the hamlet Gilar to the north, which is spread on the slope of a steep hill. As regards Wadjasari, which is small and compact, two persons or two teams were sufficient: one observed the activities to the north of the road and the other in sectors south of it. When observing group activities, we also specifically isolated only those of the

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(42) mangsa = period, season; kanem = sixth; i.e. sixth month of the Javanese solar year.

(43) The four assistants were students of anthropology of the University of Indonesia and of the Gadjah Mada University.

(44) Our headquarters was the house of the Lurah [the village chief] in the dukuh Karanganom.

gotong rojong type and omitted all teams of people who worked for wages like laborers.

The purpose of these special observations, as explained earlier, was to establish the frequency of gotong rojong practices during a period when the village community was not too busy. As the result, we collected within a period of seven days for each of the two villages, twenty-eight cases of gotong rojong in Tjelapar and nine gotong rojong cases in Wadjasari.

VI

SOME CONCLUSIONS FROM THE ANALYSIS OF DATA ON GOTONG ROJONG

Types of gotong rojong

An analysis of one hundred and eleven cases of gotong rojong shows that there are at least seven kinds, or types, of gotong rojong, which are distinguished also in the minds of the villagers themselves. Moreover, each type of gotong rojong is often designated by special terms, even though these terms frequently prove to be interchangeable and are not used with precision by other villagers. The seven types of gotong rojong are:

1. Gotong rojong activities which emerge when there is a case of death or some other calamity in a family of the village inhabitants.

2. Gotong rojong activities undertaken by the whole village when there is a work project which all feel is a public necessity.

3. Gotong rojong activities which occur when a villager institutes a feast.

4. The gotong rojong system applied to the care and cleaning of ancestral graves.

5. Gotong rojong activities which take place when an inhabitant of the village needs work to be done around his house.

6. The system and activities of gotong rojong manifested at the time of /heightened/ agricultural production in all its aspects.

7. Gotong rojong activities based on the duty of the kuli class to contribute manpower for the benefit of the community.

Gotong rojong activities of the first type are often referred to as tetulung or tulung lajat. (45) From the cases which we have collected it

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(45) Tetulung means helping; tulung lajat means helping in connection with condolence.

appears that the relatives of the core family of the deceased usually organize all the activities. However, if there happens to be a village official who lives within the boundaries of their neighborhood association, it is this official who takes charge of all activities. Those who actually do all the work are principally the neighbors and not the relations of the deceased. The latter concern themselves mainly with his corpse. Besides their contribution in work, the neighbors often donate money too to help meet the expenses, or food for the selamatan [ritual banquet] and for treating guests. Apart from the neighbors, contributions in money and foodstuffs come also from all village officials and from many other inhabitants of the village. All this help is offered by the various friends who share one community wholeheartedly and spontaneously, without expectations of returns for their contributions.

Gotong rojong of the second type is often referred to as gugur gunung ["avalanche;" literally, make a mountain fall down]. The initiative for gugur gunung is always generated at the rapat selapan, i.e. the assembly [rapat] of all villagers which takes place every thirty-five days. (46) Work which requires action of the gugur gunung nature is

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(46) At village meetings in Central Java, it often appears as if it were the head of the village who determines everything in an authoritarian manner, while all other members of the village community act only to approve his decisions (as yes-men). From the start the people seem passive and there is no opposition. Careful observation discloses, however, that considerable opposition exists also in Java's village communities but it is rarely discernible from the outside. Efforts to iron out the differences between the conceptions of those who take the initiative and the views of the opposition are usually worked out behind the scenes, during the gossip and discussions in the gardu, guard-houses of the night watch, in the warungs (coffee shops), etc. The village head, who actively participates in these behind-the-scenes maneuvers, knows every development, so that at the official meeting his announcements are nothing but the end result of completed preliminary discussions and are naturally acceptable to the majority of the assembled people. This system of conducting meetings is probably attributable to a corresponding element in the attitudes of the Javanese, which is to avoid at all costs controversy in public. This attitude is further strengthened by the patriarchal nature of the figure of the village head: like a father, he should not be confronted with direct contradiction. It seems that this old system is being abandoned in places where village assemblies are presided over by young village chiefs who, because of their age, are not regarded so much as fathers and also because these young village heads themselves, having been educated in towns and usually having participated in meetings called by branches of political parties or some other organizations, themselves change the mode for conducting a village assembly. [The period of thirty-five days is called selapan.]

usually a large project whose usefulness in the public interest is already realized by a major portion of the villagers. Concretely, these works may involve: the construction or repair of a dam on the river which supplies irrigation for the villagers' rice fields; the building or renovation of a mosque or a prayer house, etc. The villagers may respond to a call for gugur gunung either by contributing labor or also by lending implements. Of course not all the villagers gather for work at one time; the village head, who usually organizes and directs a gugur gunung project personally, divides the total number of the villagers, who constitute the labor force, into alternating teams. A good example is case number 21 in our list of gotong rojong cases (Appendix I). In this undertaking, the head of the Tjelapar village, who organized repair works and the improvement of a dam in the Purih river south of Tjelapar, employed in shifts thirty male villagers, young and old; each team worked four hours to complete the whole project in five days of uninterrupted, day-and-night work (one hundred thirteen hours). In this case, as apparently is customary in general in gugur gunung undertakings, no meals were furnished for the workers; they had to bring not only their own implements but also their own food and drinks.

Gotong rojong activities of the third type are often referred to as ndjurung /contributing/, though such terms as sambatan /requesting help/ (47) and gujuban /associating in amity/ are also sometimes employed for these activities. In the months of Sela Apit, Besar, and other months which the villagers habitually choose for celebrating weddings, circumcisions, ear-piercing, hair-cutting, fulfilling a vow, etc., ndjurung activities are very frequent indeed. Preparations for feasts are often started by the host several weeks in advance. The first stage of these preparations naturally involves the amassing of foodstuffs which will be needed for the feast. For such work as rice-pounding, for example, people often need their neighbors' help in the sambatan manner. As the day of the feast approaches, contributions begin to arrive from relations (relatives by blood, relations of the wife, parents, parents-in-law, etc.) in the form of rice, sugar, oil, coconuts, salt, and other provisions (bètjèran) (48) and often monetary contributions as well. Three or two days before the feast, relations and the neighbors from right and left arrive for alternating ndjurung; they help in various tasks around the household preparatory to the feast. All these relatives and neighbors have been asked (disambat) to help. They render assistance with pleasure, but at the same time they enjoy the certainty that they will receive assistance in return when the need arises. Because at one time or another a villager is sure to have to celebrate a circumcision or wedding of one of his children, or to have to fulfill a vow, etc., assistance which he gives to others is an

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(47) See also pages 33f. below for further elaboration of this term.

(48) Bètjèran means household necessities and especially those of an extraordinary nature, as for feasts, etc.

investment in labor force which he himself will need for preparing a feast at some future time. Apart from this, the assisting neighbors and relatives are always treated with meals during the preparations for the feast and are further honored after the feast by gifts of food.

Help rendered at times of feasts can be regarded as generally connected with the gotong rojong system. A feast is of course always a recreational occasion for the villagers. The invited guests have the opportunity to relish a good meal, to see a wajang performance /either a shadow play or one with round, costumed, rod-marionettes/ or some other shows, and to enjoy a card game. Naturally it is proper for them to make some contribution to the host in return for the entertainment offered. Such a contribution must be passed on in a very delicate manner, as for example while shaking hands at the greetings or in a very dark place at the time of begging leave to depart, so that it remains unobserved and does not embarrass the host and so that it does not reflect an impression that the host expects to be compensated for everything he has offered to his guests. Yet such contributions are mandatory, and every person is expected to contribute money according to his rank and status in the village community. Invited village officials must contribute between five and seven and a half rupiah. Government employees who reside in the village (such as forestry and irrigation superintendents, or a school teacher) must donate five rupiah; for the village's kuli /landowners/, the tariff is between two and a half and five rupiah, etc. If there is a guest who dares not to appear after having been invited, or who does not make a contribution, this soon becomes a subject of general talk in the village. And those who erred in the amount of their "tariff" will even not fail to hear, a few days after the feast, some critical remarks from secondary sources. A person who thus "errs" frequently is certain to suffer dire consequences. When he must give a feast later, not many of his relations will show up for ndjurung and to give assistance, and, worst of all, to his great shame very few people will attend his celebration. This is why the villagers in the Karanganjar area often speak of payments made at feasts as "paying 'face money'," and this denotes that people always have to pay the money in order to maintain or "show their face" and not be despised. There are months (as Besar, for instance) when the village is full of feasts, and invitations, which have to be accepted, pile up at such a rate that the villagers become tired of it. (49) Moreover, it becomes a real hardship for a villager to donate two and a half rupiah or more every night. And still he accepts all invitations and attends as many as possible in person, and if not in person, through a deputy.

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(49) The head of the desa Wadjasari stated that in the preceding year he once had to accept more than forty invitations in the course of one month.

The fourth type of gotong rojong, often referred to as rerukunan (50) alur waris, has a very special form and function. Participation in this gotong rojong activity is limited only to people who belong to a kin group called in Javanese villages alur waris. This group consists of all living bilateral descendants of a common ancestor, the kinship relation with whom is still known by all these descendants. All alur waris members are obliged to erect and look after the graves of the ancestor and his deceased descendants and to organize all ceremonial banquets connected with the care for these graves. The gotong rojong activities here consist mainly of money contributions from all the alur waris members for the above mentioned purposes. According to the informants, if a person does not wish to join in these alur waris activities there are no sanctions, but, they say, this has never happened. We saw how neatly the graves are kept in Tjelapar and in almost all other villages of the Seraju mountains, thanks to the alur waris of those buried in them. It was very different in the desa Wadjasari and in many areas of the plains south of Karanganjar; most of the graves were damaged and neglected. In fact there were no alur waris activities at all in Wadjasari. In Wadjasari live many santri and they are not very heedful of ancestral graves. But, even disregarding this, the function of alur waris as caretakers of ancestral graves is in fact lost in most of the lowland villages in the area of Karanganjar.

Gotong rojong of the fifth type is often called sambat-sinambat or sambatan, while the other term used sometimes, but much less frequently, is gujuban. (51) The term sambat here seems to mean "requesting help", and sambat-sinambat designates "mutual asking for help." In fact one aspect of this practice to which people attach importance is the way in which such help is requested, often by means of a formal visit to a neighbor's house. A villager may need assistance of some three men for different kinds of work around his household, for instance for repairing the roof, renovating the bamboo walls of the house, ridding the house of an invasion of mice, digging a well in the courtyard, pounding rice in preparation for a feast, (52) etc. Further, the assistance of neighbors is needed for the construction of the frame for a new house. In a house of traditional Javanese style, (53) the frame itself, especially that of the roof, is built on the ground by experts--carpenters who are paid on a contractual basis; but when the time comes to set this frame on top of the pillars, the help of neighbors is needed, and this is then requested

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(50) Rukun or rerukunan, often translated as association (e. g. rukun tetangga = neighborhood association) connotes also friendship, amicable concord and unanimity.

(51) See page 31, above.

(52) Rice not intended for a feast is usually pounded by hired labor.

(53) See page 17 above.

(disambat) with all the customary formal procedures and polite conventions. During our field work in Tjelapar, we noted nine cases of gotong rojong for the building of such a house. In Wadjasari, we observed six cases of house-building, but only in one were there gotong rojong arrangements as above, while in the other five all the work was done on a contractual basis. The one house built in gotong rojong manner was in the traditional Javanese, trodjogan, style; (54) the style of the other five was like that of urban dwellings. When we inquired about the possibilities of using the gotong rojong system for the building of such houses, it appeared that many people in Wadjasari cherished the hope of reshaping their houses to make them city-style, in either wood or stone; but of course such urban houses have never been built in a gotong rojong way because the techniques of building them are quite different from the traditional constructions. People do not build the roof first, setting it on top of the pillars with gotong rojong help; a house in city style is built from the bottom up and entirely by contractual arrangements for the skilled and unskilled labor.

Sambatan activities are always engaged upon by members of one dukuh (hamlet) and more especially by members of one rukun tetangga (neighborhood). Even though the inhabitants of one dukuh, as mentioned above, sometimes still feel some mutual kinship relation, their cooperation in sambatan enterprises is regarded as one between neighbors who need each other. All the neighbors who come for sambatan are always treated with a noon meal, and if their work continues into the evening they receive an evening meal also. The food they receive is like the food offered to guests. (55) Apart from contributing labor, the neighbors in sambatan activities often bring needed tools, or they lend them to the initiator of the work.

Gotong rojong of the sixth type is designated by several different terms. In Tjelapar and Wadjasari we noted the terms grodjogan, krubutan and gentosan, (56) while occasionally the terms which we know already from the fifth gotong rojong type--sambatan and gujuban--were used too. As mentioned earlier, gotong rojong of this type is always connected with agriculture in the broad sense, i. e. in land cultivation,

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(54) With the four sloping parts of the roof resting on pillars set in a rectangle.

(55) In the village households of Central Java there is always a clear distinction between the daily family fare and food for guests. Meals for guests have many more side dishes, usually with the addition of fish or meat. In Tjelapar (and in the mountain villages in general), where the daily food is based on sega ojek made of bodin (cassava), food for guests is easily recognized since its principal ingredient is always rice.

(56) Grodjogan is a term for harvesting with additional labor force; krubutan for appearing en masse; and gentosan for doing things in shifts.

cattle raising, fishing, forestry, etc. The intensity of agricultural work is, of course, not constant in the productive phase; in certain periods it is light, in others there is high pressure. In the easy intervals, a tani can cope with the work alone or with the assistance of members of his immediate family. But in the busy periods he needs additional help. This additional help can be obtained by hiring laborers, but also by asking co-villagers to lend a hand on a gotong rojong basis. Often the co-villagers whom one asks to help are people whose fields are adjacent to or near the land of the applicant. Thus grodjogan is not an activity between house neighbors only. Among the sixteen cases of grodjogan which we have noted, only seven were arranged between neighbors who lived in adjoining compounds, while the other nine were not between people of neighboring houses but between those who owned fields proving to lie close to each other. The phases in land cultivation for which grodjogan assistance is usually asked are: hoeing, planting of rice seedlings and care of the young shoots, and weeding the sawah while the rice plants grow (matun). In other phases, as repair of ditches, ploughing, harrowing, making plots for rice seeds, harvesting, and transporting, people usually employ animals as well as paid laborers, with several different systems of remuneration determining their pay.

Gotong rojong activities which are called grodjogan, etc. may be arranged in two ways: in one type of arrangement, a group of co-villagers, A, B, C, D, and E, perform some work together, as for example hoeing in A's sawah; this A, in turn, will help another in weeding (matun) or something else. The other way is for a group of co-villagers, A, B, C, D, and E, to work successively first on A's sawah, hoeing for instance, then on B's sawah, on C's, and so on. It is the latter mode which is called gentosan, which means "alternating" [or, in shifts]. In a grodjogan situation, the working co-villagers must be treated with a noon meal by the proprietor of the land, but there are instances when some of them do not wish to be treated, beg to be excused, and go home for their noon meal.

According to our informants, the friends who together engage in grodjogan form a more or less permanent work team. (People who are accustomed to work with one grodjogan team, for certain reasons do not like to work with another group unless forced to.) Thus we have seen in a village community a number of teams which, though informal in character, could easily serve as nuclea for the formation of agricultural or other cooperatives. Such groups of co-workers frequently establish small cooperatives which promote the sale of copra, or the cultivation of fish in ponds, or the raising of goats, or the rent of lamps for feasts, etc.

Gotong rojong of the seventh type is called kerigan ["doing the necessary task," especially in an orderly, organized manner] and kuduran ["assistance," especially of an obligatory nature]. The initiative for a kerigan undertaking always comes either from the village-head or another village official and often also from higher authorities via the village officials. Usually the work which requires kerigan is some routine maintenance activity as, for example, the cleaning of the village streets or of the water ditches, repairs of bamboo bridges, or some

other small public works for the benefit of the whole village or one of its parts. Besides these public projects, we must also group into the gotong rojong activities of the seventh type all kinds of free labor services which the villagers must render for the personal benefit of village officials, around their households. (57) Such labor services usually take place at fixed intervals following the order of some village official. When we asked about the system of sanctions applied to individuals who do not fulfill their "bakti-labor" duties, the informants were unable to give us any information on either an adat regulation or some other sanction system; they could only cite some particular cases which had occurred in the past. (58) When we inquired about more recent occurrences, i.e. while the present officials were already in office, these officials denied the existence of any individuals who refused to perform kerdja bakti. (59) We are convinced, however, that there always are some individuals who evade their bakti-labor duties. With regard to specific cases of individuals evading calls for kerigan, we were unable to discover any fixed system of punishing them.

Kerigan is not practised officially in Tjelapar. In Wadjasari, however, every villager in the "non-children" category must contribute one day of bakti labor annually. In both Tjelapar and Wadjasari, such labor on behalf of a village official must be performed twice a year, and this particular work is called kuduran /i.e. obligatory assistance/. Before World War II, kerigan or kuduran were labor dues owed by the kuli /landowners/. The kuli, in brief, constituted a social layer in village society which was the source of manpower and center of energy for all agricultural activities and community life. They, therefore, were the privileged group upon whom fell all the traditional rights and obligations determined by adat. (60)

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(57) Free kerigan labor is not applied to the rice fields held by village officials, the sawah bengkok. Sawah bengkok are the communal property of the village; they are divided among its officials for the duration of their tenure to provide them with a source of income. This old system is needed because village officials are not civil servants and do not receive a fixed salary from the government.

(58) For example, someone who had evaded kerdja bakti was made to circulate a letter to all the villages of the district (ketjamatan), whereby each village clerk had to affix a stamp to it, and the man was thus obliged to walk more than thirty kilometers. Another man had to pay a money fine. In still another case, a man had to work twice as long as his original labor assignment would have demanded, etc.

(59) We should have anticipated such a response, and, had we had more time at our disposal, we should have questioned villagers who were not officials.

(60) As there are a number of good descriptions which elucidate the position of the kuli in several articles on Java's village communities, there is no need to go into further detail here. One good description, but probably little known, is contained in an unpublished article by Soedjito Sosrodihardjo, pp. 8-10.

The most important of these rights was the right to cultivate a piece of land, tanah pekulen /i.e. "kuli land"/ for their own private benefit. Generally, the people of Tjelepar and Wadjasari have by now forgotten the true origin of the kuli's position; today a sign of his status is the ownership of a petuk certificate regarded as proof of his property rights upon a piece of land. After World War II, the obligations which formerly devolved specifically upon the kuli, such as paying land taxes, supplying bakti-labor for the village as well as for the village officials, taking care of the night watch, etc., were either abolished or spread evenly among the rest of the villagers.

Attitudes of People who Participate in Gotong Rojong

The sequence in which we have organized the seven types of gotong rojong to describe each type, is significant in certain respects. In deciding upon this sequence, we paid special attention to the particular social group which supports each type of activity. Thus, gotong rojong of the first and second types, i.e. tulung lajat and gugur gunung, is supported by the whole village as a unit, even though in tulung lajat the neighbors in the hamlet and the relatives play the leading roles. Gotong rojong of the third and fourth types, i.e. gotong rojong activities for feasts and for the care of graves, is supported mainly by groups of kin, though at feasts also neighbors of the same dukuh can /and do/ join in lending support. In gotong rojong of the fifth type, i.e. sambatan, only the immediate neighbors who live close to the initiator's house support the undertaking. Similarly, in gotong rojong applied to agriculture, it is the neighbors of the same hamlet who support the effort, though it can be supported also by other people. Finally, the seventh type of gotong rojong is one for which, formerly, villagers of the kuli class were responsible. Apart from distinguishing the social groups of the village community who support the particular gotong rojong type, our sequence is based also on the /variations of/ attitudes of the participants. The activity which is most spontaneous in character is evidently gotong rojong of the tulung lajat variety; by "spontaneous" is meant here the voluntary nature of help, which is given without any expectations and without keeping count of contributed services and goods. No further elaboration of this point is needed, as we all know that in cases of death or great calamities, people the world over offer spontaneous help to the afflicted family. There are probably few exceptions to this universal phenomenon.

With special reference to the voluntary aspect, gotong rojong of the gugur gunung variety can be regarded, in our opinion, as follows. In the two cases of gugur gunung which we have observed in Tjelapar, the work of the participants was spontaneous in character. (61) The

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(61) The gugur gunung case in Wadjasari (see case 7, Appendix II), though called gugur gunung is actually a kerigan type of gotong rojong. The project was not decided by a major portion of the villagers, but by an order from the higher authorities.

spontaneous attitude in gugur gunung projects is engendered by the realization on the part of the participants that their work is needful and useful to the community as a whole, but not less beneficial also to themselves, as members of that community. The two cases gave us sufficient confirmation of the voluntary and spontaneous nature of gugur gunung activities in general. The slight difference from the spontaneity which characterizes the tulung lajat variety of gotong rojong is that in gugur gunung there seems to be a strong realization of the inter-dependence between members of one community in mutual need. For in essence, the work is done for oneself while it cannot be accomplished by oneself alone. Here the need for assistance by others is closely linked to one's own needs.

Voluntariness, without careful calculation of possible returns for contributed services, is still apparent in gotong rojong of the ndjurung type, when a feast is involved. To the various relatives of the host, their own services and contributions mean furthering the success of the feast, and its success benefits themselves too. Conversely, if the feast is not successful, they will be faced with embarrassing criticism. To the various neighbors who readily contribute help and materials, a feast in the dukuh or within a neighborhood association is a joyful occasion and an opportunity for amusement. As for the invited guests who, following the village custom, must make contributions according to their status and rank, the situation is very different. Some calculations enter into this procedure (see page 32 above). If we examine further the system of these contributions within the framework of inter-personal relations in a village community, it appears that in principle it is not a system of covering expenses for entertainment. Originally, these contributions certainly were of a gotong rojong nature, with the underlying idea that the contribution made was merely to help alleviate the burden of a co-villager who was obliged to fulfill an obligation; it was therefore readily given. However, as these contributions became a general custom, performed automatically, without conscious association with the above basic ideas, this system may still have been regarded as a social instrument for strengthening people's awareness of their duties vis-a-vis their fellow men. During that phase, the voluntary attitude was still prevalent among the people who made such contributions. Today, however, it is clear that the system is no longer followed voluntarily. Among the reasons, as mentioned earlier (see page 32 above), is the great number of feasts, which can become a heavy burden to the contributors. However, the foremost cause for the disappearance of spontaneity was the emergence of abuses of the system. Nowadays, many villagers who give a feast, begin to calculate the profits and losses accruing from the contributions. Moreover, there are people who dare to initiate a feast on a grand scale, who invite guests from other villages and even from town, because the bigger the feast the bigger is also their profit. (62) All

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(62) In fulfilling a vow, an official of Wadjasari, whose wife had recovered from a serious illness, once gave a feast which lasted five days and five nights. There were performances of angguk /see note on page 167/, wajang kulit /shadow-play/, and a setambul orchestra /a hybrid ensemble of Western and Javanese instruments/--all of which had to

persons who have received invitations (63) feel forced to attend, or at least to send a substitute for themselves; they dare not forget to make a contribution since, as already mentioned, the consequences are grave and of long duration as the person who often forgets to do so can hardly show his face in public.

In the case of rerukunan alur waris, which has a very special character, the voluntary attitude of the participants in contributing to the care of, or ceremonies for, the ancestral graves, is still preserved. We were able to observe only three cases of rerukunan alur waris in Tjelapar, but we received much additional information from statements made by the villagers themselves and from our informants. Ancestral spirits are still of great significance in the life of the villagers in the region north of Karanganjar, and contact with ancestral spirits is maintained, among other ways through activities around the ancestral graves. The way of life of the Tjelapar village community is still closely linked to the worship of ancestor spirits and consequently the people themselves feel the importance of their duties towards the ancestral graves and readily contribute to all the activities connected with them.

In gotong rojong sambatan, the voluntary aspects are completely lost. In the first place, as we have already observed earlier (see pages 33-34), the various participants must be asked (disambat), requested to render help in a certain conventional polite form. The formality of the occasion does not leave much room for spontaneity. Secondly, an interesting point connected with the term sambatan emerged when, in the dukuh Karanganom (Tjelapar), we asked three women who were pounding rice for their neighbor called Pak Wongsodihardja why their work for Pak W. was called sambatan, (64) and they replied, "Because we have not volunteered our help, but were asked by Pak W." Thus there appears to be a clear distinction in the minds of the villagers between serving the needs of another person voluntarily, or upon the latter's request. In addition, according to our informants, the villager who is asked by a neighbor to do some work for him feels that this neighbor now owes him a debt of labor too. This labor debt of his neighbor is never forgotten by the person who has been asked for help, and its extent is always carefully figured out. When he later needs assistance for work around his own household, he knows precisely whom he can njambat [i. e. ask for help].

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(62) (cont'd)
be brought from outside the Karanganjar area. The invited guests included not only all the leading persons of Wadjasari, but also those from other villages, as well as acquaintances from the town.

(63) Nowadays, it is fashionable also in the village to send out invitations by means of neat, printed invitation cards.

(64) That this special term applied to the work of the three women, we had learned from our key informant who accompanied us around the village to observe gotong rojong activities.

In the case of gotong rojong grodjogan in the field of agriculture, the situation is the same as with sambatan. People contribute labor, keeping careful count of the amount of work they do. However, in the case of grodjogan, which involves agricultural production, the calculation of amounts of contributed labor, for purposes of labor exchange, is much easier than in sambatan because the nature of agricultural work is more uniform, whereas in sambatan it is rather varied. In some regions, or at those times when labor is cheap, people prefer to hire labor rather than use gotong rojong help, all the more so since it is in practice easier to give orders to hired help. Of all gotong rojong cases we collected in Wadjasari, there was not a single grodjogan case connected with land cultivation.

Spontaneity is least of all in evidence in kerigan activities. During our field work in the two villages, we had a chance to observe more than ten small teams engaged in kerdja bakti of the kerigan type. Theirs were practically all routine projects such as cleaning and repairing the village streets and water ditches. All these teams worked sluggishly and carelessly. We also could observe a few cases of kerdja bakti performed by villagers around the household of some village officials. This work for village officials is usually executed with greater care since the relationships here approach familial ones and also because often the villagers who perform bakti work for an official are treated with meals. As for other evidence that people are not always ready to perform free kerigan labor, but regard it only as an unavoidable obligation, there is the practice of delegating one's turn to work to another person with pay. In Wadjasari this remuneration was equal to wages paid for one day's hoeing of a sawah, i. e. five rupiah, whereas in Tjelepar, where kerigan is not taken too seriously, the pay is less than a day's wage for hoeing a rice field.

On the question of what generally motivates people to practice mutual assistance, we can learn a great deal from B. Malinowski. This anthropologist has analyzed the problem as follows: a) in modern society, public discipline is maintained among other means by a system of enforced social controls, which is the law; b) to bring about enforcement, the law is supported by a system of instruments of authority organized by the state; c) in a primitive society, there are no such instruments of authority, and thus no laws; d) but if there is no law in primitive society, the question arises, how can such a society maintain discipline and function successfully. Varying theories have been advanced in response to this problem and the most popular among these was one which said that in a primitive society there is an instinctive tendency among individuals to submit to traditional rules and norms. This conception of an "automatic spontaneous submission to tradition" was challenged by Malinowski. On the basis of materials he had collected among the inhabitants of the Trobriand Islands, southeast of Irian, where he lived for a long time, he stated that the system of exchanging obligations and objects in many spheres of social life, as well as the exchange of services and goods in the economic sphere, as well as the system of exchange of dowries at weddings, as well as the system of exchange of obligations among kin, or the exchange of gifts among groups at the time

of religious ceremonies, are all means for the integration and activation of such a society. The system of giving support in order to secure a reciprocal obligation forms a basis, a principle of life of a primitive society, which Malinowski terms the principle of reciprocity.

With regard to gotong rojong, we are confronted with the same problem as Malinowski's. It is widely believed that people practice gotong rojong out of a spontaneous desire to serve the community. However, the analysis of the cases which we have collected in two village communities (65) shows that spontaneity is not always present. Only in two types of gotong rojong do people help spontaneously. Yet, there is no fixed sanction system to force people to give support to their fellow men. It is true that in the alur waris variety of gotong rojong, fear of ancestral spirits might be a stimulus for active participation. In gotong rojong related to feasts, fear of public criticism provides the strongest motivation. In gotong rojong sambatan and in agricultural gotong rojong, the principle of reciprocity emerges with greatest clarity as a moving power. Here a contribution of labor creates a definite obligation to reciprocate. If a time arrived when the individual became less dependent on the help of his neighbors and of other fellow men in his community and began to rely mainly on hired labor or, in a still more advanced stage, on machines, such gotong rojong practices would disappear and the community would need an integrating system based on other principles. As regards gotong rojong of the seventh type, i.e., kerdja bakti, the situation is very different. Here the authority of the village officials or higher authorities is the driving force behind free labor services, and up to what point people will remain ready to render kerdja bakti, and what will be the consequence if people should refuse to perform it, will depend entirely on the extent and special nature of that authority.

Frequency of Gotong Rojong

We have seen earlier how the basic difference between Tjelapar and Wadjasari, which lies in the degree of influence exercised by the urban life of Karanganjar, assumes the shape of several other concrete divergences already mentioned on page 23. Parallel with these divergences there appears also a difference in the frequency of gotong rojong practices in these two village communities. The frequency of gotong rojong is clearly much greater in Tjelapar than in Wadjasari. (66) Yet

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(65) These village communities are certainly not primitive, and yet there are many similarities with the principles discussed by Malinowski in relation to the Trobriand village communities.

(66) The difference in the totals of cases of gotong rojong which we have assembled in Tjelapar and in Wadjasari within an equal period of time (Appendices I and II), cannot, however, be considered as conclusive evidence in the question of frequency because the desa Tjelapar is much bigger than Wadjasari.

we cannot unhesitatingly abstract this correlation and generalize it before examining in detail each of its elements.

The greater frequency of gotong rojong in Tjelapar as compared with Wadjasari appears mainly in the sixth type, i. e. in gotong rojong connected with agricultural production. In Tjelapar we found many cases of this type of gotong rojong; in Wadjasari, by contrast, there was not a single one because all needs for additional labor are filled there by hired agricultural workers. The abundance of available labor in Wadjasari makes the hiring of workers far more practical and cheaper than requesting the help of fellow villagers, with all the customary formalities, the need to treat them with meals, and the prospect of having later to return their services. According to agricultural experts, apart from its unpracticabilitycompared with hired labor, fluctuations in gotong rojong (specifically in land cultivation) seemingly also depend on fluctuations in the prices of rice and other foodstuffs. The villagers are aware of which expenses are lower at a given time--the cost of meals for gotong rojong workers or the wages of an agricultural laborer; and whichever of the two systems is cheaper at that time is the one they choose. Thus, for example, in the two villages of the Pati Residency (North Central Java), Bulungan and Ngurensiti, which were investigated by Bachtiar Rifai, it appeared too that the presence of agricultural gotong rojong in one of them and its absence in the other was caused by the above reasons (Bachtiar Rifai, pp. 63-64, 107). (67)

The next type of gotong rojong which appears more frequently in Tjelapar than in Wadjasari is the fifth, and especially in connection with house building. As mentioned earlier, gotong rojong can be applied only for the building of a house in traditional Javanese style (see page 17 and pages 33-34), while for houses of urban style it seems to be more practical, and probably cheaper in the end, to employ professional craftsmen. In Wadjasari where people begin to build new houses in city style and many hope to remodel their houses to assume the town look, the frequency of gotong rojong of the fifth type appears to be declining accordingly.

Finally, Tjelapar, in relation to Wadjasari, leads in the frequency of gotong rojong of the fourth type, i. e. the one concerned with the care and purification of ancestral graves. As mentioned earlier (pages 20 and 33), this practice is completely lost in Wadjasari. This is, of course, not necessarily caused only by influences from the town. It is more likely that it is due to Islamic religious influences, which are very different in the two villages. In Tjelapar, only a small part of the inhabitants, in particular those of the dukuh Sumberan, are santri, i. e. people who seriously follow the religious duties of Islam; in Wadjasari more than one half of the villagers are santri. This coincides with the more general picture of the mountain villages north of Karanganjar, whose people are not santri, while those in the plains south of the town are predominantly santri. To the non-santri Javanese villagers, ancestral

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(67) See also article by A. M. P. A. Scheltema (1923), pp. 11-12.

spirits are still important, and the care of ancestral graves is a special socio-religious function, while for the santri of the plains the importance of ancestral spirits has been superseded by their Islamic religious duties, with the result that the care for ancestral graves was no longer regarded as necessary.

At the time of our field work, we had not paid much attention to the question of the influence of Islam on the people's attitudes towards ancestral graves in the villages around Karanganjar and therefore some doubts must still attach to the above statement; further research will be needed to confirm it. Should our tentative conclusion, that Islamic conceptions indeed exercise a significant influence on the attitudes of the Javanese towards their ancestors, we must still not forget that the towns probably also play some role in this matter. Urban influences on the religious life of Javanese villagers is another subject which requires special study.

As for the other types of gotong rojong, which exist in both Tjelapar and Wadjasari, these are connected with death, public works needed for the whole village, and with feasts. It is noteworthy that kerdja bakti for the benefit of the village is more frequent in Wadjasari than in Tjelapar, but this is due to special circumstances. The head of the Wadjasari village happens to be an energetic man who likes to maintain discipline, whereas the head of the village Tjelapar has abolished kerdja bakti in redeeming a pledge made to the villagers when he was seeking their support for election to office.

On the whole, comparison between the two village communities has given us the impression that in village communities where the villagers' livelihood does not depend solely on agriculture, but where they can find additional income in towns, the frequency of gotong rojong declines. The greater the urban influences are, the less is the frequency of gotong rojong. In the end, only that type of gotong rojong persists in which people participate with the greatest readiness, as, for instance, in gotong rojong when a death, a calamity, etc. occurs. At this stage of our research this impression cannot yet be claimed to represent a scientific truth. The problem needs to be studied further in other places of Indonesia with methods similar to those we had employed in the region of Kebumen.

Should our impression prove to be true, namely that gotong rojong is a feature of any social order which is based on agriculture, and one which diminishes in importance as influences of urban life increase, then it should also exist in other places of the world where there are agricultural communities. It appears that forms of mutual aid similar to gotong rojong indeed exist, not only in Asia and Africa but also on the European continent. For example, A. M. P. A. Scheltema (1923) mentions several instances of the gotong rojong system in a number of agricultural village communities of Europe, and even that the word for gotong rojong in German is Bittarbeit, which has exactly the same meaning as the Javanese term for labor services secured by request, by bitten, i. e. by sambatan.

Yet, even though gotong rojong appears to decline in urban communities, we Indonesians can still try to realize our ideals. We can endeavor to make gotong rojong truly into a feature of the personality, or character, of all the Indonesian people and not only of the rural people. We can endeavor to achieve that the majority of the Indonesian people would indeed be imbued with a gotong rojong spirit in its idealistic meaning so that the majority of Indonesians would like to serve society and not be concerned solely with their own individual interests. As to the means for achieving such a predisposition, this is a problem which lies outside our field of endeavor.

APPENDIX I

CASES OF GOTONG-ROJONG IN TJELAPAR

The cases listed below were gathered during a one week intensive observation from September 1st to September 7th, 1958, done by the author and four assistants in the village Tjelapar.

1. Time: September 1, 1958, at 10:00 A. M.
   Location: Near Hamlet Karangsari
   Activity: Six women weeding a young rice-field, owned by a widow K.
   Relation of workers: Two daughters of K., four neighbors of K. from the same hamlet.
   Term: Grodjogan
   Compensation: Cassava-rice with vegetables will be served at noon; each worker expects that turns will be taken in weeding one another's rice field.
   Tools: Workers took their own tools along.

2. Time: September 1, 1958, at 10:00 A. M.
   Location: House of an old man W. in Karanglo
   Activity: Four women pounding rice owned by W.
   Relation of workers: Two daughters, granddaughter and wife's sister's daughter of W.
   Term: Sambatan
   Compensation: The wife's sister expects that W. will assist her some other time at other occasions.

3. Time: September 2, 1958, at 9:00 A. M.
   Location: Hamlet Watupundutan
   Activity: Many people giving aid at funeral of a village official M.
   Relation of workers: Relatives of M., neighbors of his hamlet, villagers of other hamlets, and friends of other villages.
   Term: Tulung lajat.
   Attitude: All the people who attended the funeral gave assistance at the various activities during the ceremonies, or aid in the form of lending tools, presenting material, food-stuff, or money spontaneously, without expecting any compensation.

4. Time: September 3, 1958, at 9:00 A. M.
Location: Near hamlet Karangsempu
Activity: Three girls and one boy weeding a young rice field of R. from Alian
Relation of workers: Daughter of R., daughter of neighbor called S., brother's daughter living in Alian, servant
Term: Grodjogan, krubutan
Compensation: A rice meal served at noon and when the work is finished, the group will work in the rice fields of the neighbor and the brother of R.
Tools: All workers brought their own tools

5. Time: September 3, 1958, at 9:00 A. M.
Location: Cassava field near Hamlet Sigilar
Activity: Four men hoeing the field owned by D. from Alian
Relationship of workers: Son of D, one neighbor of the same hamlet, two other men from other hamlets
Term: Grodjogan, gentosan
Compensation: None, but the workers expect that turns will be taken in hoeing each other's cassava fields, which lie adjacent to each other
Tools: The men brought their own tools

6. Time: September 3, 1958, at 10:00 A. M.
Location: Sigalar
Activity: Eleven men putting the frame of a roof on the poles of the prospective house of S. in Sigalar
Relationship of workers: S. himself, two sons of S., daughter's husband of S., five neighbors from Sigalar, carpenter and assistant
Term: Sambatan
Compensation: Rice meal with ingredients will be served at noon. The five neighbors expect that S. will also assist them some other time, when they need him to do work around the household

7. Time: September 3, 1958, at 10:00 A. M.
Location: Hamlet Sumberan
Activity: Four girls weeding a young rice field owned by K. in Kalisadang
Relationship of workers: Daughter of K., daughter's daughter of K., two daughters of a friend of K. from Sumberan
Term: Grodjogan, krubutan
Compensation: None, but the friend expects that K. or his daughter will weed his rice field in turn.

8. Time: September 3, 1958, at 2:00 P. M.
Location: Near hamlet Kaliputih
Activity: Four men, repairing a ditch leading to a rice field owned by S. from Tjelapar
Relationship of workers: S. himself, father's brother, father's father's brother's daughter's son, father's father's brother's son of S., all of them living at different hamlets, but having rice fields south of Kaliputih, adjacent to each other.
Term: Grodjogan, krubutan
Compensation: Wife of S. had served the men cassava-rice for lunch at noon. In addition the other men expect that S. will give aid at other occasions at their rice fields.

9. Time: September 4, 1958, at 8:00 A. M.
Location: Rice field near Karangsari
Activity: Four men hoeing a rice field owned by M. from Alian
Relationship of workers: Two neighbors from M. and a father's brother's son from Hamlet Gunungsari, who all have parts of rice fields in Karangsari, near M's rice field.
Compensation: None, but the other men expect that M. will in turn, hoe their rice fields

10. Time: September 4, 1958, at 10:00 A. M.
Location: Hamlet Tjelapar Proper
Activity: Three women pounding rice, as a preparation for a prospective circumcision feast to be given by W. from Tjelapar Proper
Relationship of workers: Wives of neighbors of W. from the same hamlet
Term: Sambatan
Duration: The work which is done in between other activities, will last several days until all the large amount of rice is pounded.
Compensation: W. or his family has to give aid at other occasions and to offer each of them part of the surplus of the provisions for the feast.

11. Time: September 4, 1958, at 10:00 A. M.
Location: Rice-field near Larangan
Activity: Five women weeding a young rice field of a woman A., who participated in the work herself
Relationship of workers: Two friends of A. from hamlet Alian, whose husbands have rice fields in Larangan, daughters of A., and husband's mother of A., also from Alian.
Term: Gentosan, krubutan
Compensation: A. only served tea and the workers will return home at noon to have lunch at home. The women from Alian, however, expect that A. will, in turn, also weed their field some other time.

12. Time: September 4, 1958, at 11:00 A. M.
Location: At a dry field near Watupundutan
Activity: Three men from Gunungsari felling a mahogany tree at a dry field owned by S. from another village Pagebangan. The tree is bought from S. by his brother, a carpenter, and will be used to make a door-post.
Term: Gujuban
Duration: Felling, splitting, smoothing, constructing the post will take about three days' (3 x 9 hours) work.

13. Time: September 4, 1958, at 11 A. M.
Location: Rice field near Alian
Activity: Three men hoeing a rice field owned by S. A. from hamlet Gilar
Relationship: S. A. himself, brother's son of S. A., a friend from Alian, who has a rice field adjacent to S. A. 's.
Term: Grodjogan
Compensation: None; friend from Alian expects that S. A. will in turn hoe his field; brother's son expects a small share of the harvest.

14. Time: September 4, 1958, at 3:00 P. M.
Location: Hamlet Alian
Activity: Three women and two men preparing djenang cake for a circumcision feast of the son of K., to be held four days later.
Relationship: K. himself, K's wife, K's wife's mother, K's wife's sister (from another hamlet), neighbor
Term: Ndjurung
Compensation: Rice meal was served at noon; while later after the feast K's wife's sister and neighbor will receive part of the surplus of the provisions for the feast.

15. Time: September 4, 1958, at 3:00 P. M.
Location: Hamlet Sumberan
Activity: Five men repairing the bamboo wall of M. S. 's house.
Relationship of the workers: M. S. himself, son of M. S., daughter's husband of M. S., two neighbors
Term: Sambatan
Compensation: Rice meal with ingredients was served at noon. The two neighbors of M. S. expect that M. S. or his son will also assist them some other time.

16. Time: September 5, 1958, at 9:00 A. M.
Location: Hamlet Kaliputih
Activity: Three men digging a well for W.
Relationship of the workers: W. himself, son of W., neighbor of W.
Term: Sambatan
Compensation: Rice meal was served at noon, and the neighbor of W. expects that W. or his son will also assist him some other time especially in domestic activities.

17. Time: September 5, 1958, at 10:00 A. M.
Location: Hamlet Karanglo
Activity: Four men repairing the roof of M's house.
Relationship of workers: M. himself, three neighbors of M.
Term: Sambatan
Compensation: Rice meal with ingredients was served at noon. The three neighbors of M. expect that M. will also assist them some other time, when they need him for domestic activities.

18. Time: September 5, 1958, at 10:00 A. M.
Location: Dry field near Sigilar
Activity: Three men hoeing a dry field near Sigilar owned by S. from Alian
Relationship of workers: S. himself, neighbor and friend from Sigilar, who owns a cassava field adjacent to S's field.
Term: Krubutan
Compensation: Tea was served but no food. The workers expect that S. will in turn work at their field at another occasion.

19. Time: September 6, 1958, at 8:00 A. M.
Location: Rice field near Karangsempu
Activity: Three girls weeding a young rice field owned by S. from Alian, whose turn it was to get his rice field cleaned (Cf. Case 4)
Relationship of workers: Daughter of S., daughter of neighbor whose name was R., daughter of brother of R.
Term: Grodjogan, krubutan
Compensation: Cassava-rice was served at noon.

20. Time: September 6, 1958, at 8:00 A. M.
Location: Hamlet Sudikampir
Activity: Seven men putting the frame of a roof on the poles of the prospective house of P. in Sudikampir.
Relationship of workers: P. himself, son of P., four neighbors from Sudikampir, a friend from Tjelapar
Term: Sambatan
Compensation: Rice meal with ingredients was served at noon. The four neighbors and friend expect that S. will also assist them when they need him for domestic activities.

21. Time: September 7, 1958, at 9:00 A. M.
Location: Near hamlet Gunungsari
Activity: About 30 men starting to repair a small dam which will improve the irrigation system of South Tjelapar. The work started by removing stones from the river, and the whole project will last five days with men working in turns day and night, directed by village officials.
Relationship of workers: Majority of men from hamlet Gunungsari, but there were also many men from other hamlets who had rice fields at the southern part of the village.
Term: Gugur gunung
Organization: The project was decided at a village meeting and was also approved by the local government at a sub-district meeting. The local government, however, did not give any financial support.
Attitude: There was a spirit of spontaneousness and industriousness, because the men were aware of the advantage of the dam for the rice fields at the southern part of Tjelapar.
Compensation: The workers did not receive payment. Food was served by the wives of the workers cooperatively. Each worker brought his own tools.

22. Time: September 7, 1958, at 9:00 A. M.
Location: Hamlet Karanglo
Activity: Four men making Javanese cake for a circumcision feast which S. will give for his youngest son.
Relationship of workers: Unmarried son of S., daughter's husband of S., married son of S. living in another hamlet, distant relative of S. living in the same hamlet
Term: Sambatan
Compensation: Rice meal was served at noon.

23. Time: September 7, 1958, at 9:30 A. M.
Location: Hamlet Tjelapar-Proper
Activity: Four men repairing the roof of the house of T.
Relationship of workers: T. himself, three neighbors from the same hamlet
Term: Sambatan
Compensation: Rice meal was served at noon. The three neighbors expect that T. will also assist them at another time.

24. Time: September 7, 1958, at 10:00 A. M.
Location: Rice field near hamlet Alian
Activity: Four men hoeing a rice field of S. from Alian
Relationship of workers: S. himself, son of S., daughter's husband of S., and S. A., a friend of S. from Sigilar (Cf. Case 13).
Term: Grodjogan
Compensation: This activity was S. A. 's turn to assist S. in hoeing his field (Cf. Case 13)

25. Time: September 7, 1958, at 10:30 A. M.
Location: Hamlet Alian
Activity: Eight men putting the frame of a roof on the poles of the prospective house of D. in Alian
Relationship of workers: D. himself, two sons of D., daughter's son of D., three neighbors from Alian, carpenters.
Term: Sambatan
Compensation: Rice meal was served at noon. The three neighbors expect that D. will also give his assistance when they need him for domestic activities.

26. Time: September 7, 1958, at 11:00 A. M.
Location: Hamlet Alian, house of Dj.
Activity: Six women preparing a communal ceremony in which 17 families will participate.
Relationship of workers: The six women were wives of six out of the 17 men who were residents of four hamlets, but who all owned dry fields at the Bobab hill.
Term: Ndjurung
Compensation: Rice meal, drinks and snacks were served by Dj. who was to be the leader during the ceremonies.

27. Time: September 7, 1958, at 1:00 P. M.
Location: Rice field near Kalisadang
Activity: Three girls weeding a young rice field owned by AR from Sumberan
Relationship of workers: Daughter of AR, daughter of a friend from Kalisadang, daughter's daughter of K. (Cf. Case 7).
Term: Grodjogan, krubutan
Compensation: This activity was K's turn to assist AR in weeding his field (Cf. case 7)

28. Time: September 7, 1958, at 2:00 P. M.
Location: Hamlet Watupundutan, house of S.
Activity: Five women, five men and two boys were making preparations for a wajang feast, celebrating the circumcision of a son of S. to be given in the afternoon. Activities consist, among others, of putting on a temporary roof, removing the bamboo walls of the house, arranging gamelan music instruments, decorating the house with palm leaves, cooking, etc.
Relationship of workers: S. himself, wife of S., brother of S., brother's wife of S., wife's father, wife's mother, two brothers' sons, two neighbors with their wives who were living in the same hamlet.
Term: Ndjurung (njumbang)
Compensation: S. has served rice with ingredients at noon and also tea and cookies almost every hour.
Additional note: Village officials, several officials of adjacent villages and friends from other hamlets and villages have given sumbangan (support) in the form of bamboo, decoration material, kondjalan (uncooked rice which was presented as sumbangan at a feast) and bètjèran (food stuff) A dalang (wajang story teller) who happened to live in the same hamlet, was to give a performance without payment; he only asked money for his gamelan players. Every other person who attended the feast gave money.

APPENDIX II

CASES OF GOTONG ROJONG IN WADJASARI

The cases listed below were gathered during a one week intensive observation from August 25 to August 31, 1959, done by the author and two assistants in the village Wadjasari.

1. Time: August 25, 1959, at 4:00 P. M.
   Location: West part of the village
   Activity: Seven men putting the frame of a roof on the poles of the prospective house of M.
   Relationship of workers with the initiator: M. himself, brother of M., five neighbors from the same section of the village
   Term: Sambat-sinambat
   Compensation: Rice meal was served at noon and the workers expected that M. would also assist them at another time when they would need him for domestic activities.

2. Time: August 27, 1959, at 9:00 A. M.
   Location: West part of the village near neighboring village Pagotan
   Activity: Five men renovating the bamboo wall of a house of S.
   Relationship of workers with the initiator: S. himself, son of S., daughter's husband of S., two next-door neighbors.
   Term: Sambat-sinambat
   Compensation: Rice meal was served at noon, and the two neighbors expected that S. would also assist them another time when they need him for domestic activities.

3. Time: August 27, 1959, at 11:00 A. M.
   Location: Rice field, north of the village
   Activity: Three men hoeing a rice field owned by W.
   Relationship of the workers with the initiator: W. himself, the next-door neighbor of W., and another villager, all owners of plots close to W.'s rice field.
   Term: Grodjogan
   Compensation: No meal was served, the workers expected that turns would be taken in hoeing each other's rice field, if possible on the same day.

4. Time: August 28, 1959, at 10:00 A. M.
Location: Village Pada Urip, neighboring village to Wadjasari
Activity: Twelve people, seven women and five men assisted with the preparations for a funeral of a deceased baby of S.
Relationship of workers with the initiator: Nine relatives of S. who all live in Wadjasari, and three neighbors of S.
Term: Tulung Kesripahan
Attitude: Spontaneous
Compensation: None, the workers were not even served food.

5. Time: August 28, 1959, at 8:00 A. M.
Location: House of T. at Banger, a small hamlet north of Wadjasari
Activity: Four men repairing the roof of the house of T. from Banger
Relationship of workers with the initiator: T. himself, two neighbors, friend from village Pada Urip
Term: Sambat-sinambat
Compensation: Rice meal was served at noon and the workers expected that T. would also assist them at a time when they would need him for activities around the house.

6. Time: August 28, 1959, at 11:00 AM.
Location: House of S. at the southern part of the village
Activity: Seven men working on a temporary roof (tarub) from bamboo and palm leaves for a place to receive guests at a celebration in connection with the hair cutting ceremony of S's child.
Relationship of workers with the initiator: S. himself, daughter's husband of S., five neighbors of S.
Term: Ndjurung, sambatan
Compensation: Tea and cookies were served; rice meal was to be served at noon. The five neighbors expect that S. will also assist them at a time when they need him for domestic activities, and that S. would offer part of the surplus of the provisions for the feast.

7. Time: August 29, 1959, at 7:30 A. M.
Location: In front of headman's house
Activity: 184 men starting to leave for the Telomojo canal, approximately 7 kilometers North-West of Wadjasari, in order to work on repairs of the canal. The 184 men were to work together with approximately 230 men from neighboring village Tepakjang. The work was to be directed by a local official of the Government Irrigation Service, and by the heads of the two villages. District police men were to watch to keep order. The project was supposed to last five days, from 8 a. m. to 5 p. m. with two hours' break

at noon. The work was based on a government order, and not on a consent of the village meeting. The workers were volunteers from the two villages.

Term: Kerigan, gugur-gunung, kerdja bakti (Indonesian)

Compensation: Each man was to receive a small bunch of unthreshed rice from the lumbung desa (cooperative village rice shed). The men had to bring their own tools and food.

Attitude: We did not observe the project itself, but according to informants the project proved to be a failure. Already the second day the workers did not show much eagerness to work, and many left their work at noon. The village head and district policemen were not able to keep order and the third day, the project had to be set to a stop.

8. Time: August 30, 1959, at 11:00 A. M.
Location: Road of Wadjasari
Activity: Four men cleaning a ditch along the road
Relationship of workers with the initiator: Four men were villagers living in the western section of the village who were supposed to fulfill their obligation as adult members of the village, to contribute for the benefit of the community (kerdja bakti). Three of the four were paid by three other villagers whose turn it was to do kerdja bakti.
Term: Kerigan, kerdja bakti (Indonesian)
Attitude: No working spirit
Compensation: None

9. Time: August 31, 1959, at 9:00 A. M.
Location: House of D. at the northern part of the village
Activity: Three men repairing and cleaning the roof of the house of D.
Relationship of workers with the initiator: D. himself, daughter's husband of D., neighbor of D.
Term: Sambat-sinambat
Compensation: Rice meal was to be served at noon, and D's neighbor expects that D. would also assist him at a time when he would need D. for activities around the house.

APPENDIX III

WORK DIARIES OF FIVE PERSONS IN TJELAPAR

(Kliwon, August 18 - Paing, August 25, 1958)

1. Sutawirana: Peasant of approximately 50 years old, from hamlet Karangsempu.
2. Matkiran: Boy of about 18 years old, from hamlet Sumberan.
3. Mbok Kramalaksana: Old widow of approximately 50 years old from hamlet Karanglo.
4. Mbok Santija: Woman and mother of two children of approximately 20 years old, from hamlet Alian.
5. Sijah: Girl of approximately 12 years old, from Gunungsari.

Their daily activities were observed during a period of eight days from Kliwon, August 18, to Paing, August 25, 1958, including two market days (1) and two Sundays.

In observing those persons, much use had been made of binoculars. Only one of the five observers, however, was in the possession of a pair of binoculars. In addition, it has to be noted that it was almost impossible to observe the persons constantly, especially when they were inside their houses. Many gaps in the work diaries had to be filled up afterwards by questioning the persons themselves or others who were in touch with them.

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(1) The market days in Javanese little communities return every five days. The Javanese week, which is based on the market days, consists of only five days: Legi, Paing, Pon, Wage, Kliwon.

	Sutawirana	Matkiran	Kramalaksana	Santija	Sijah
Kliwon August 18 1958 (Monday)	(6a. m.) Went to the market at Somawangsa at one hour's distance going up and down hills. (1p. m.) Returned from Somawangsa took a meal leisurely at home. (4p. m.) Went to the forest to collect dry twigs for burning. (6p. m. -12p. m.) Was having recreation at coffee shop.	(6a. m.) Swept the mosque. (7a. m.) Went to school. (1p. m.) Came home from school, took a meal, took care of smaller children at home. (5p. m.) Finished homework for school. (8p. m. -12p. m.) Practiced slawatan art with a group of artists.	(6a. m.) Went to the market at Somawangsa. (2p. m.) Came home from the market, took a meal, plaited mats. (5p. m.) Went to the river to get water. (6p. m.) Stayed at home.	(7a. m.) Cleaned a cassava field near her house. (10a. m.) Pounded rice at a neighbor's house. (12m.) Had a rest at home. (4p. m.) Took a meal, stayed at home.	(6a. m.) Went to the market in Somawangsa to sell spices. (12m.) Came home from Somawangsa, had a meal, then went herding. (6p. m.) Came home from herding, stayed in her house.
Legi August 19 1958 (Tuesday)	(7a. m.) Hoed a cassava field near his house. (9a. m.) Went to assist another peasant on gotong rojong basis in Sigilar. (1p. m.) Had a meal at home. (4p. m.) Went to collect wood for burning in forest. (6p. m.) Stayed at home.	(6a. m.) Swept the mosque. (7a. m.) Went to school. (2p. m.) Did homework for school. (4p. m.) Played football. (6p. m.) Went home; after the evening meal went out to meet people at the guard house of the night watch.	(7a. m.) Plaited mats at home. (12m.) Had a rest. (4p. m.) Went out to call on a neighbor.	(7a. m.) Washed clothes. (9a. m.) Went to clean the rice field of another peasant on gotong rojong basis. (12m.) Went home, had a meal. (2p. m.) Pounded paddy. (6p. m.) Had a rest at home, stayed in the house.	(7a. m.) Went to school. (12m.) Came home from school, had a meal afterwards. (1p. m.) Went out herding. (6p. m.) Came home from herding stayed in the house.

	Sutawirana	Matkiran	Kramalaksana	Santija	Sijah
Paing August 20 1958 (Wednesday)	(8a. m.) Went out to cut pandan leaves. (4p. m.) Came home and rested.	(6a. m.) Swept the mosque. (7a. m.) Came home from school, had breakfast.	(7a.m.) Took care of children at home, stayed at home and did not come out of the house for the whole day.	(7a. m.) Threshed rice at her house. (9a.m.) Went out to assist another peasant in clearing a rice field. (2p. m.) Came home from rice field. (4p. m.) Went to well to get water. (6p. m.) Had a rest at home.	(7a.m.) Went to school. (12m.) Came home from school and had lunch (1p.m.) Went out herding. (6p.m.) Came home from herding, then stayed at home.
Pon August 21 1958 (Thursday)	(6a. m.) Sharpened tools. (8a. m.) Hoed own dry field. (11a.m.) Came home from hoeing, had breakfast. (3p.m.) Continued hoeing dry field. (5p.m.) Returned home, stayed in the house.	(6a.m.) Swept the mosque. (7a.m.) Went to school. (1p.m.) Came back from school. (3p.m.) Went out herding. (6p.m.) Came home from herding, stayed in the house.	(7a.m.) Washed clothes. (9a. m.) Stayed in the house.	(7a.m.) Threshed paddy. (9a.m.) Went out to clean rice field of another peasant on a gotong rojong basis. (2p.m.) Came home and had a rest. (5p.m.) Plaited mats.	(7a.m.) Went to school. (1p.m.) Came back from school; had lunch. (4p.m.) Went out herding. (6p.m.) Came home stayed at home.
Wage August 22 1958 (Friday)	(6a.m.) Stayed in his house. (2p.m.) Prepared pandan leaves for mats. (7p.m.) Had supper, entertained friend who came for a chat	(6a.m.) Swept the mosque. (8a.m.) Went out herding. (11a.m.) Went to Village Logandu (2p.m.) Came back, went out herding.	(7a.m.) Plaited mats at home. (2p.m.) Did some cooking, stayed in the house. (4p.m.) Went to river to get water.	(7a.m.) Washed clothes. (9a.m.) Went out to clean the rice field of another peasant on a gotong rojong basis.	(7a.m.) Went to school. (1p.m.) Came from school, had lunch. (2p.m.) Took care of smaller children at home.

	Sutawirana	Matkiran	Kramalaksana	Santija	Sijah
Wage (cont'd)		(6p.m.) Came home from herding, had a meal. (8p.m.) Went out to practice slawatan art with a group of artists.		(12m.) Came home from rice field, had lunch, started to plait mats. (5p.m.) Went to well to get water. (6p.m.) Took a rest at home.	
Kliwon August 23 1958 (Saturday)	(6a.m.) Went to market at Somawangsa to sell tobacco, cigarettes and candy. (3p.m.) Came home from the market, then stayed in the house.	(6a.m.) Swept the mosque. (7a.m.) Went to school. (1p.m.) Came home from school. (3p.m.) Went to forest to collect teak leaves (for wrapping material). (5p.m.) Came home from forest. After having dinner, went out to meet people in the guard house of the night watch.	(6a.m.) Went to market at Somawangsa with her daughter to sell mats and cookies. (1p.m.) Came back from market, then stayed at home.	(6a.m.) Went to market at Somawangsa to sell mats. (1p.m.) Visited friends at Somawangsa. (6:50p.m.) Came home from Somawangsa.	(6a.m.) Went to market at Somawangsa to sell spices. (12m.) Came home from Somawangsa, went out herding, stayed at home.

	Sutawirana	Matkiran	Kramalaksana	Santija	Sijah
Legi August 24 1958 (Sunday)	(7a.m.) Stayed in his house. (1p.m.) Went out to a friend in Karanglo to have a chat. (5p.m.) Came home from Karanglo. After supper, went out to meet people at coffee shop.	(6a.m.) Swept the mosque. (8a.m.) Played football. (11a.m.) Went to rest at home. (4p.m.) Hoed a rice field of his religious teacher.	(7a.m.) Plaited mats at home. (12m.) Had a rest at home. (2p.m.) Started to plait mats again. (5p.m.) Stopped plaiting mats, and stayed in the house.	(7a.m.) Threshed rice at her house. (9a.m.) Stayed in the house.	(7a.m.) Went out herding. (1p.m.) Came home from herding, stayed at home. (8p.m.) Went out with parents to attend a shadow play performance at a feast in Kalisadang.
Paing August 25 1958 (Monday)	(7a.m.) Planted cassava near his house. (9a.m.) Went out to assist a neighbor in renewing a bamboo wall of his house. (1p.m.) Had lunch at neighbor's house. (2p.m.) Continued working at the bamboo wall. (4p.m.) Went home and stayed in house.	(6a.m.) Swept the mosque. (7a.m.) Went to school. (1p.m.) Came home from school, had lunch, took a rest. (4p.m.) Played football. (6p.m.) Came home and stayed in house. (8p.m.) Went out to practice slawatan with a group of artists.	(9a.m.) Stayed in her house.	(7a.m.) Went out to clean the rice field of another peasant on a gotong rojong basis. (12m.) Went home, started to cook, pounded paddy. (2p.m.) Had lunch, washed clothes afterwards. (4p.m.) Plaited mats at home. (6p.m.) Stayed at home to rest.	(7a.m.) Went to school. (1p.m.) Came home from school, had lunch, went out to get water from well. (3p.m.) Took care of smaller children at home. (6p.m.) Stayed in the house.

APPENDIX IV

WORK DIARIES OF FIVE PERSONS IN WADJASARI

(Wage, September 6 - Legi, September 13)

1. Mohamad Sidik: Peasant of approximately 50 years old from Wadjasari South.
2. Dulahmat: Boy of about 15 years old, from hamlet Banger.
3. Mbok Gudé: Old widow of approximately 50 years old, from Wadjasari North.
4. Mbok Salamah: Woman (mother of one child), of approximately 18 years old, from Wadjasari North.
5. Siti Samijatun: Girl of approximately 10 years old, from Banger.

Their daily activities were observed during a period of eight days from Wage, September 6, to Legi, September 13, including two market days and two Sundays. Except when they are working in the rice fields, people of Wadjasari tend to stay much more inside their houses during daytime. That is the reason why they were much more difficult to observe. All of them happened to be santri, and perform the salat daily at regular hours.

	Mohamad Sidik	Dulahmat	Mbok Gudé	Mbok Salamah	Siti Samijatun
Wage Sept. 6, 1958 (Sunday)	(7a.m.) Went to work for another peasant to earn wages (hoeing a rice field) (12m.) Came home, had lunch. (2p.m.) Went back to the rice field. (5p.m.) Went home and stayed home.	(7a.m.) Hoed his father's rice field. (1p.m.) Came home, had lunch, repaired his bicycle. (4 p.m.) Played soccer. (6p.m.) After having performed the salat, went to town (Karanganjar)	(7a.m.) Started working on a piece of batik and continued working till noon with intervals in between. (1p.m.) Had a rest hour and stayed at home.	(8a.m.) Plaited mats. (10a.m.) Started working on a piece of batik. (12m.) Started plaiting mats again. (4p.m.) Threshed paddy. (5p.m.) Took a rest hour and stayed at home.	(7a.m.) Went out herding. (1p.m.) Came home, did the salat, stayed at home.

	Mohamad Sidik	Dulahmat	Mbok Gudé	Mbok Salamah	Siti Samijatun
Kliwon Sept. 7, 1958 (Tuesday)	(7a.m.) Went to another village to work for a peasant to earn wages. (12m.) Came home and had lunch. (2p.m.) Went back to his work. (5p.m.) Went home. (7p.m.) After supper went out to practice slawatan art with a group of artists.	(7a.m.) Went to school. (1p.m.) Came home from school, had lunch, then rest. (4p.m.) Played soccer. (7p.m.) Came home, had supper, then went out to house of teacher to practice reciting the Qur'an. (9p.m.) Came home from teacher's house.	(7a.m.) Started to work on a piece of batik and continued working till noon with intervals in between. (1p.m.) Had rest. (3p.m.) Visited friends in Pagutan. (6p.m.) Came home and stayed in the house.	(7a.m.) Plaited mats. (11a.m.) Started working on a piece of batik. (1p.m.) Had lunch, then rest. (4p.m.) Started to make cassava cake until late at night.	(7a.m.) Went to school. (1p.m.) Came back from school, remained at home. (7p.m.) Went to house of teacher to practice reciting the Qur'an. (9p.m.) Came home from teacher's house.
Legi Sept. 8, 1959 (Tuesday)	(6a.m.) Went to the market in Karanganjar to sell mats. (4p.m.) Came home, had lunch, then a rest, and remained in house.	(7a.m.) Went to school. (1p.m.) Came home from school, had lunch, then a rest. (4p.m.) Played soccer. (7p.m.) After dinner went to house of teacher to practice reciting Qur'an. (9p.m.) Home from teacher's house.	(8a.m.) Went to the market at Karanganjar. (5p.m.) Came home and remained in house.	(6a.m.) Went to the market to sell cassava cake. (5p.m.) Came home from Karanganjar, and remained at home the rest of the evening.	(7a.m.) Went to school. (1p.m.) Came back from school and stayed at home. (7p.m.) Went to house of teacher to practice reciting Qur'an. (9p.m.) Came home from teacher's house.

	Mohamad Sidik	Dulahmat	Mbok Gude	Mbok Salamah	Siti Samijatun
Paing Sept. 9, 1958 (Wednesday)	(7a.m.) Went to another village to work for a peasant to earn wages. (12m.) Came home and lunched. (2p.m.) Went back to his work. (5p.m.) Went home and remained at home.	(7a.m.) Went to school. (1p.m.) Came home from school, had lunch and a rest. (7p.m.) After dinner went to house of teacher to practice reciting the Qur'an. (10p.m.) Came home from teacher's house.	(7a.m.) Washed clothes. (9a.m.) Worked on her piece of batik. (11a.m.) Went out to a coffee shop. (1p.m.) Continued to work on her piece of batik. (3p.m.) Rested and remained in the house.	(7a,m.) Sewed clothes. (10a.m.) Threshed paddy. (12m.) Had lunch and a rest. (2p.m.) Started plaiting mats. (5p.m.) Retired inside the house.	(7a.m.) Went to school. (1p.m.) Came back from school, stayed in house. (7p.m.) Went to house of teacher to practice reciting Qur'an. (10p.m.) Came home from the teacher's house.
Pon Sept. 10, 1958 (Thursday)	(7a.m.) Went to work for another peasant to earn wages. (12m.) Came home for lunch. (2p.m.) Went back to his work. (5p.m.) Went home and stayed in house.	(7a.m.) Went to school. (1p.m.) Came back from school, had lunch and a rest. (5p.m.) Went to town to attend a movie in the evening.	(7a.m.) Started to work on her piece of batik, until noon with intervals in between. (1p.m.) Had lunch and rest. (4p.m.) Mended clothes and stayed in her house for rest of afternoon and evening.	(7a.m.) Washed clothes. (9a.m.) Threshed paddy. (12m.) Started to work on a piece of batik. (2p.m.) Stopped working to lunch and rest. (4p.m.) Continued working on piece of batik. (5p.m.) Went into house to retire.	(7a.m.) Went to school. (1p.m.) Came back from school, remained at home. (5p.m.) Went to well to get water. (7p.m.) Went to house of teacher to practice reciting Qur'an. (9p.m.) Came home from teacher's house.

	Mohamad Sidik	Dulahmat	Mbok Gudé	Mbok Salamah	Siti Samijatun
Wage Sept. 11, 1958 (Friday)	(7a.m.) Went to work for another peasant to earn wages. (12m.) Came home, went to mosque and later returned home to rest. (7p.m.) Went to an angguk performance at a kaul feast.	(7a.m.) Went to school. (12m.) Came back, went to mosque, had a meal at home and took a rest. (4p.m.) Played soccer. (7p.m.) Went to an angguk performance at a kaul feast.	(7a.m.) Started working on her piece of batik. (11a.m.) Took a rest and stayed in her house.	(7a.m.) Plaited mats. (10a.m.) Started to work on piece of batik. (12m.) Took rest. (2p.m.) Pounded cassava flour for cakes. (5p.m.) Retired inside house. (8p.m.) Went to an angguk performance at a kaul feast.	(7a.m.) Went to school. (12m.) Came home from school. (1p.m.) Went with father to the town to visit relatives.
Kliwon Sept. 12, 1958 (Saturday)	(7a.m.) Went to work for another peasant to earn wages. (12m.) Came home for lunch.	(7a.m.) Went to school. (1p.m.) Came home from school and lunched. (2p.m.) Went with father and brother to assist a neighbor to repair the bamboo wall of neighbor's house. (6p.m.) Came home and after supper went to house of teacher to practice reciting Qur'an. (9p.m.) Came home from teacher's house.	Did not come out of the house.	(7a.m.) Washed clothes. (9a.m.) Started working on piece of batik. (12m.) Took a rest. (2p.m.) Pounded cassave flour for cakes and then started preparing cakes until about midnight.	Had not come back from the town.

	Mohamad Sidik	Dulahmat	Mbok Gudé	Mbok Salamah	Siti Samijatun
Legi Sept. 13, 1958 (Sunday)	(6a.m.) Went to market at Karanganjar to sell mats. (4p.m.) Came home from Karanganjar, had lunch and took a rest. Stayed at home the rest of evening.	(6a.m.) Went to Karanganjar and stayed there the whole day, went home at night after having attended a movie.	(6a.m.) Went to the market in Karanganjar. (4p.m.) Came home from Karanganjar and stayed at home.	(6a.m.) Went to the market in Karanganjar to sell cassava cake. (5p.m.) Came back from Karanganjar and stayed at home.	(1p.m.) Came home from Karanganjar and did not go out of house again.

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